

LIFE AND TIMES
OF
ANDREW GREGG CURTIN

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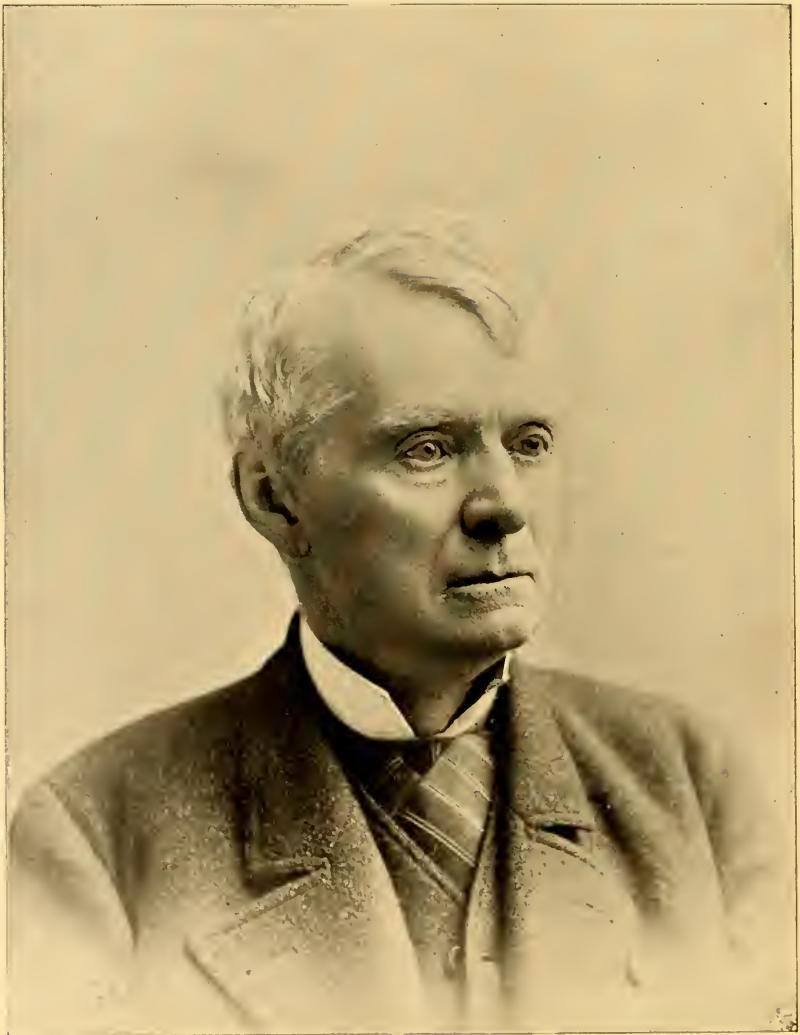


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LIFE AND TIMES

OF

Andrew Gregg Curtin

BY

WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D.

State Librarian, Harrisburg

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

COL. WILLIAM B. MANN

Prothonotary, Philadelphia

And Valuable Historical and Reminiscent Chapters by Governor Daniel H. Hastings, Ex-Governors Robert E. Pattison and James A. Beaver, Honorables John Russell Young, Matthew Stanley Quay and Galusha A. Grow, Judges Harry White and Craig Biddle, General Fitz John Porter, Colonel A. K. McClure, and other distinguished collaborators with Pennsylvania's great War Governor during a period covering some of the most memorable events in the affairs of the nation.

ILLUSTRATED WITH THIRTY-ONE PORTRAITS AND ENGRAVINGS, INCLUDING AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER FROM PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

PHILADELPHIA

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PREFACE.

BY WM. B. MANN.



WM. B. MANN.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that "philosophy is history, teaching by examples."

If this be so, then the lessons to be gathered from the lives of men who make history should teach us to abhor disloyalty, tyranny, injustice, arrogance and proportionately prize the attributes

of patriotism, equity, courage and humility.

Upon this hypothesis, the lessons to be drawn from all that can be related of the life, character and work of Andrew G. Curtin are full of instruction and excite the admiration of every lover of his country.

Brought into public view at the critical moment in the career of a young nation when her institutions were

subjected to so severe a strain that passion dethroned reason, and partisanship was more potent than patriotism, he so filled and administered the great office of Governor of Pennsylvania as to demonstrate that, like Lincoln, he was pre-eminently the man for the crisis. His lofty patriotism, devoted fidelity to the citizen soldiers of the Commonwealth, and just discharge of the grave duties imposed upon him, have left such an impress upon our history and secured such a place in the hearts of the people of his State, that he is the chief object of their grateful remembrance, for no other executive from the foundation of the State until the present time holds so warm a place in their affections.

History, as we understand it, is but an aggregation of verity and fiction, and is, therefore, but a lying jade at best. Historians nevertheless "rescue from oblivion former events" and embalm the memory alike of the evil and the good, but are necessarily ignorant of many incidents that most fitly and truthfully furnish the aptest illustrations and most practical lessons of a great life. It is here that tradition comes to their assistance and in the effort to narrate events of doubtful authenticity mars the integrity of the whole.

For this reason, those who were the closest to the subject of this work and who most intimately shared his opinions and sustained his measures have prepared these chapters. They speak of what they know and part of which they were. They are the best witnesses to the facts they relate, and they testify at a time

when their recollections are perfect, being kept alive by their affection for, and the closest association with, the great War Governor of Pennsylvania whom they devotedly loved.

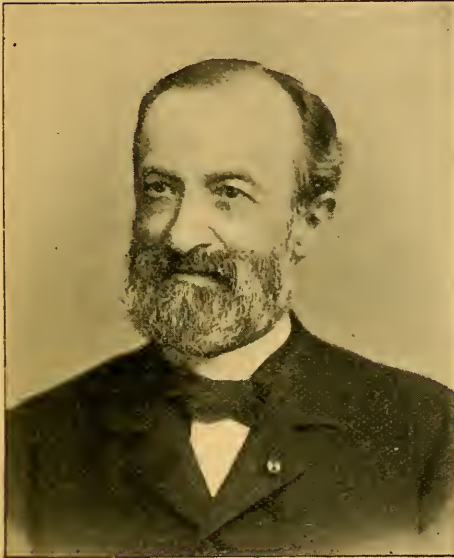


CURTIN'S BIRTH-PLACE.

ANDREW GREGG CURTIN.

BY WILLIAM H. EGLE.

I.



WILLIAM H. EGLE.

In the character-building of every representative man, the biographer finds reflected the leading features of some distinguished ancestor. Especially was this exemplified in the life of ANDREW GREGG CURTIN, the son of Roland Curtin and his wife Jean Gregg. He was born at Bellefonte, Pa., on the twenty-third of April, 1815.

His father, Roland Curtin, was descended from a long line of honored Irish ancestors, who resided at Dysert in County Clare. The Curtins of Dysert, although becoming extinct in Ireland, were always noted as one of the best families of the ancient Celtic race. They can look back with pride on their history in County Clare, and see its undefiled pages filled with bright stars of talent, and men of pure integrity, with characters unsullied,

and, that which makes man the noblest of God's creatures honesty amidst prosperity. Roland was sent by his father, Austin Curtin, to the Irish College at Paris, where he was a student in 1797, when, owing to the Reign of Terror, he was obliged to leave the country, and narrowly escaped the guillotine. He succeeded in reaching America, and after a short residence in Philadelphia found his way to Centre County in Pennsylvania. At that date Centre County was away from the great routes from the North and South, the East and the West, and was not as well known as now. Exceedingly rich and lovely, abounding in iron ores, fertile valleys, and fine streams, it attracted Mr. Curtin. Here he became quite prominent not only in political affairs, but in the iron industry, being a leading manufacturer for forty years, and accumulated a competent estate. He married Jean Gregg as his second wife, in 1814, daughter of Andrew Gregg, for whom the eldest son was named. She was a devoted mother to whom Andrew Curtin was indebted for that loving care and domestic enjoyment which shone so brightly around his early years. She was one of the most exemplary of women, exceedingly amiable and of the sweetest disposition—well educated and in every way remarkable. Her life and her example had a powerful influence on the formative period of the lives of her children, of whom there were three sons besides Andrew. Mrs. Curtin's ancestors came from the north of Ireland, and settled in the beautiful Cumberland Valley. The son, Andrew Gregg, received his early education in the Rev. John Steel's Latin School at Carlisle, completing his education at the Presbyterian Academy at Newark, Del. During the struggle for independence, Andrew Gregg served several tours in the County Militia.

In 1779 he was a tutor in the College at Philadelphia, now the University of Pennsylvania, where he remained for a few years, when he went into mercantile business in Middletown. After his marriage to Martha Potter, who was the daughter of General James Potter, a brilliant officer of the Revolution, he removed to Lewistown, then recently laid out by his father-in-law, and in 1789 to Penn's Valley, Centre County, two miles east of the Old Fort. He was elected a member of Congress in 1791, and continued there by re-election sixteen years. In 1807 he was chosen United States Senator, serving in that capacity one full term. Andrew Gregg was a sturdy supporter of the administrations of the early presidents and especially those of Jefferson and Madison. He offered in Congress the famous war resolutions which preceded our last conflict with Great Britain, eliciting in their support the eloquence of Henry Clay and John Randolph. In 1814 he removed to Bellefonte where he remained as president of the bank until December, 1820, when he was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth by Governor Hiester. In May, 1823, Mr. Gregg was nominated for Governor in opposition to John Andrew Shulze. It was a fierce and decisive State canvass, but the old Federal party under his lead made a fast stand for victory and existence, but were defeated by the *old* Pennsylvania Democracy, under the lead of the former. Mr. Gregg had strong party predilections, yet was remarkable for acting according to the dictates of his conscience, though that differed sometimes from the views of his party associates. He was while in office a representative of the interests of his constituents, not of their limited views on subjects of moment. He was an eloquent classical scholar, and

had acquired extensive general information, which large experience and deep reflection had moulded to practicable purposes. He was undoubtedly one of the great men of Pennsylvania in the early part of this century.

Coming from such an ancestry, it is not to be wondered at that Andrew G. Curtin inherited many of their admirable qualities which characterized his after life-history, and to which allusion will be made further on. Mr. Curtin's preparatory education was obtained from the schools of his native town, and also at the Harrisburg Academy, under the tuition of that famous educator John M. Keagy. It was, however, at the celebrated Academy at Milton, Pa., that he completed his studies. This institution was presided over by the Rev. David Kirkpatrick, who belonged to the old style of instructors. He "turned out" his boys thoroughly impregnated with the classics and mathematics. Of this remarkable man it can be truly said that his school became distinguished for the large number of young men who received instruction in the higher branches of law and theology. At that early day, the only professions open to young men on leaving the academy, who were anxious to follow a public career, were the ministry and the law. Our subject chose the latter. After becoming well imbued with as much Latin, Greek, and mathematics as any of our colleges afford, young Curtin returned to his mountain home and began his studies under the direction of William W. Potter, a leading member of the Bellefonte bar, and finished them at the Law School of Dickinson College, then in charge of Judge Reed, one of the most distinguished jurists of Pennsylvania, well known for his "Pennsylvania Blackstone," one of the first attempts made to adapt the immortal "Commentaries" to our

modern law. He was an adept in teaching legal principles, and among Mr. Curtin's fellow-students at the Law School were such distinguished men as Francis W. Hughes, Hugh N. McAlister, Allison McMurtrie, and William Smithers.

At Bellefonte, he entered into partnership with John Blanchard, an eminent lawyer, afterward a member of Congress. His rise was rapid, and with his early successes were associated many political triumphs. The Bellefonte bar was then considered as one of the ablest in the State, among its younger members being such brilliant advocates as Samuel Linn, James T. Hale, and Hugh N. McAlister, all, like their colleague, destined to attain high distinction in future years. Being a ready and effective speaker, gifted with fine receptive and analytical powers, a hard worker, a close student, Andrew G. Curtin was soon recognized as one of the ablest members of the bar.

The story how Mr. Curtin won his first law case has passed into a tradition in Centre County. A school teacher, arrested for stealing a flute, was brought before the Justice for a hearing, and Mr. Curtin appeared as his counsel. The evidence of the prisoner's guilt was convincing and complete, but young Curtin rose to the occasion. He offered no testimony in rebuttal, but risked all on an appeal to the mercy of the Justice. "Your Honor," he said, "I admit that my client took the flute, but he did it for a laudable purpose. As your Honor well knows he is an instructor of the young. He took this flute in order to instill in the minds of his pupils, the first principles of music," and, continuing in eloquent and glowing terms, he painted the culprit as a public benefactor. The Justice, more sentimental than

judicial, was touched by the pathos of this picture of virtue in distress, and though the prosecuting attorney protested against such proceedings, insisted on discharging the prisoner.

A man with the gifts and temperament of Andrew G. Curtin could not fail to be largely interested and concerned in public affairs. Strikingly amiable, genial, warm-hearted, of luminous, quick and extensive intelligence, of the most engaging address endowed with a fluent and captivating eloquence and with the Pennsylvania traditions of policy and patriotism, he threw himself at once into the political controversies of the day, which, as Burke tells us, "are the noblest employments of the cultivated man." He was an ardent and thoroughgoing Old Line Whig, and in 1840 he did his first active work as a public speaker, taking part in that enthusiastic campaign which made General Harrison President of the United States.

On the thirtieth of May, 1844, Mr. Curtin married Catharine Irvine Wilson, daughter of Dr. Irvine Wilson and his wife Mary Potter, who was a granddaughter of General James Potter of the Revolution. Her ancestors came from County Cavan, Ireland, and participated in the battle of the Boyne in 1690. Descendants came to Pennsylvania as early as 1736 and settled in the so-called "Irish Settlement" in Northampton County. Surviving her illustrious husband, at the age of seventy-five years no meed of praise is too great for a devoted wife and mother.

In 1844 Mr. Curtin made a more extensive canvass of the State in favor of the election of Henry Clay, the political idol of his early manhood. His speeches during this memorable campaign were able, eloquent, and con-

vincing, and brought him prominently before the people who were not slow to recognize his ability as a popular and effective speaker; and there was not a county in Pennsylvania, from the Delaware to the Allegheny, in which his name failed to attract the largest audiences, who eagerly gathered to enjoy the feasts of wit and wisdom, of humor and pathos, of statistics and story, of argument and imagery, which spread out in his melodious and glowing periods. In 1848 Mr. Curtin's name was placed on the Whig electoral ticket, when he again traversed the State in behalf of the Presidential nominee, General Zachary Taylor. He was one of the original supporters of the nomination of General Winfield Scott, and in 1852, his name was again placed on the electoral ticket, while he himself worked with his usual zeal to carry the State for the hero of the Valley of Mexico. In 1854, though comparatively a young man, he had come to be recognized as one of the leaders of the Whig party in Pennsylvania, and at the State convention held that year, his nomination for Governor was strongly urged. However, Mr. Curtin refused to allow the use of his name, preferring the nomination of Mr. Pollock. Mr. Curtin was made chairman of the State Central Committee, and upon him devolved the management of that memorable campaign.

Elected Governor of Pennsylvania by a handsome majority, James Pollock, immediately after the inauguration, in January, 1855, appointed Colonel Curtin Secretary of the Commonwealth. The organ of the administration in speaking of Governor Pollock's appointment of Mr. Curtin, said, the Executive had been exceedingly fortunate in associating with him in official capacity, gentlemen eminently qualified for the various positions to

which they had been called, and whose honesty and integrity, and high moral worth, render their selection highly acceptable to all who feel an interest in the success of the new administration, and that Colonel Curtin is one of those first-class men qualified by nature and education to adorn any profession in public life. His appointment was hailed with delight by the leaders of the party in all sections of the State, not only as a reward for political services, but, as a compliment to the man whose eloquence had added so much to the success of the dominant party, as well as his foresight and sagacity as an active and influential factor in politics. Governor Pollock's administration was singularly pure, moderate, and conservative. It was not distinguished by any startling measures or any exciting innovations. The agitations and fluctuations caused by the breaking up of the old-line Whig party with the pro-slavery Democratic outrages in Kansas, the rise of the American and Free-Soil organizations, and the tremendous political contest of 1856, withdrew the general attention from mere State affairs, to those of national concern. But, in the midst of all, the Pollock administration held its even way, maintaining the interests and the honor of Pennsylvania, condemning the barbarities which oppressed the people of Kansas, and the faithless servilities of the Pierce and Buchanan administrations—uttering its voice for protection to the industries of Pennsylvania, and exhibiting, on every occasion, that dignified moderation, which is so peculiar to the Pennsylvania character. That administration steadily won the confidence of the people as it proceeded and retired from power, attended by the respect of every citizen in the Commonwealth, and above even the suspicion of corruption or partiality.

Mr. Curtin, as the Constitutional adviser of the Governor, was fairly entitled to a full share of the credit which attaches to that honest, wise and benign administration.

During the strenuous contest for the United States Senatorship which distinguished the legislative session of 1855, Colonel Curtin was strongly and persistently urged by a large body of friends for that high position. It was perhaps due to this fact that he brought upon himself political antagonisms which in the heated canvass of the subsequent years, was never wholly allayed. In the Presidential contest of 1856, Mr. Curtin stood by the old-line Whig party and looked with apparent distrust upon the Free-Soil movement, although in the main acting in accord therewith.

The crowning act of Mr. Curtin's connection with the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth, was his service as ex-officio Superintendent of the Common School System of the State. He gave laborious attention to it, and took particular pleasure in perfecting its details and increasing its efficiency. He did not aspire to be an educator, in the full sense of that term, but he had that peculiar zeal in administering the laws that governed them, which at once and for the first time made the schools of the Commonwealth understood and fully appreciated by the masses. To him the State is indebted for whatever legislation was had in the organization of the Normal School system, by which methods and means, the systematic training of a body of intelligent and highly competent teachers was afforded, thus supplying the most pressing needs of our schools. During his term of office he also became an early and active advocate of that great measure of the then State administration—

the sale of the main lines of the public improvements. This measure was vigorously opposed before its consummation, but was subsequently agreed on all hands, that it was timely and wise, and that the Commonwealth was thereby relieved of an incubus which annually depleted its treasury and corrupted its politics.

At the expiration of his official position as Secretary of the Commonwealth, Mr. Curtin returned to the practice of the law, at Bellefonte, where he not only again devoted himself to his profession, but to the material industries and interests of his region of the State. At this period of his history he was very active in promoting those lines of railroad which brought together the different counties bordering upon that of Centre. A man of unusual public spirit, his whole soul seemed to have been bound up in the development of the immense mineral and agricultural resources of interior Pennsylvania. As may be surmised, he was by birth, education, and life-long habit and association, a protectionist, and of that policy which purposely encouraged, diversified, and perfected, all the arts, industries, and refinements of a free and civilized community.

In the meantime, the political affairs of the nation were becoming more complicated and threatening, on account of the attitude of the South on the slave question. The outlook was portentous. The old Whig party had passed away and on the ruins had sprung up a new political organization, which had for one of the cardinal principles, opposition to the extension of slavery in the new territories. Very insolent and domineering, the slave party which embraced the Democratic organization, was more threatening in its demands than usual. Sagacious politicians of the North foresaw that the crisis

was approaching, and that if the Union was to be preserved, it must be on the eternal principles of patriotism and freedom. Colonel Curtin perhaps, as fully as any man, foresaw the coming storm, a fact which in 1859 and 1860 made him a leader in Pennsylvania politics. Before that period he had figured more as an orator in advocacy of certain political purposes than as a moulder of parties, or as a leader. It may probably be that the last year of Mr. Buchanan's administration intensified the people of the North as well as those of the South, in hatred for each other, and thereby added to the long cherished purpose on the part of the Southern leaders, to divide the American Union and of having two forms of government, one with slavery as the corner-stone of the Union formed of the old slave States, and another Union organized with anti-slavery States. Out of such elements as those of the then existing parties, Andrew G. Curtin's character was moulded and crystallized, which made him the coming man of 1860, as it also made the Republican party the one great power to save the American Union. For it was by a combination of facts that this party really saved the Republic. It is true, that while the Democratic party sacrificed as much as did the Republicans of the land, for the success of the struggle, yet it was the Republican organization which formed the rallying nucleus of the saving power of the Union. Mr. Curtin was a power in building up that party. He with others gathered its elements into shape, wherewith to confront the secret foes of the nation when they began in 1860 to carry the slave States, one by one, out of the Union.

The magnetism of Colonel Curtin's personal qualities, his matchless oratory, his energy and untiring zeal, made

him a man not only fitted to act, but to lead the people of his State in any great crisis. When, therefore, the then People's party, in 1860, looked for a great leader, and was forced to act promptly in the selection, it found one in Andrew Gregg Curtin. It really seems as if he were created for the then times, and he at once sprang into the prominent and invincible leader of what was to be the greatest party which ever dominated in Pennsylvania.

II.

Prior to the assembling of the People's State Convention at Harrisburg, in February, 1860, the nomination of Andrew G. Curtin as its standard-bearer was a foregone conclusion. For at least ten years before, he had been an influential member of nearly every Whig State Convention and became, perhaps, more prominent in the councils of that party than any other representative man in it. He was devoted to all those conservative and humane ideas which distinguished that party, among whose grand leaders were numbered Clay and Webster. He was by training and by mature conviction, a believer in systematic and efficient protection, in liberal internal improvements, and in the policy of encouraging well-paid and wide-diffused free American labor. At this time in Pennsylvania the Republican party had not yet crystallized, but the convention referred to was composed of what was then the remnant of the old-line Whig party, those who had entered the Free-Soil movement of 1856, and others prominently connected with the "Know-nothing" crusade of 1854; in conjunction there were many who had formerly been identified with the Democratic party, but differed at the present crisis widely therefrom upon the subject of slavery. With this auspicious union of the opposition to the pro-slavery party in Pennsylvania, no man was better fitted to be its standard-bearer than Andrew G. Curtin. He united an even temperament, a solid judgment, to great knowledge, not only of books,

but of men and affairs. No man in the commonwealth was more familiar with its history or with its varied local interests, with its diversified capacities and requirements, with its legislation, its policy and its public opinion, and no one had such an extensive acquaintance all over the State. There never was a nomination more joyfully hailed. It gave equal satisfaction among the farmers and iron men of the interior of the commonwealth, as well as the merchants and manufacturers of the metropolis on the Delaware. From one end of the State to the other, the nomination was regarded as the beginning of a brilliant campaign and the harbinger of decisive State and national victory. During that very memorable political campaign, he made all Pennsylvania ring with his trenchant, sparkling, sonorous eloquence, surrounded as he was by the best men of the People's party—the flower and promise of the future in store for it: young, intellectual, well-informed, public-spirited and enthusiastic,—who fought by his side, insuring a powerful and stirring discussion of those glorious ideas of freedom, progress and the rights of labor.

At this period in the history of the nation, all eyes were turned to the convention at Chicago, where a candidate for the Presidency of the Union was to be nominated by the Republican party there organized. Pennsylvania had instructed her delegates to vote for General Simon Cameron as their choice for that high office. Prior to the assembling of that body, it was supposed that Mr. William H. Seward, of New York, would be the nominee. The pivotal States in the national contest were presumed to be Indiana and Pennsylvania, and it was therefore essential that these two States should declare for the Republican candidate to

insure his election. It was morally certain, however, that Pennsylvania could not be carried for a Republican candidate with Seward as the Presidential candidate, for it had been charged that he had, previous to his election as Governor of New York as a Whig, an understanding with the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church that the school fund of the State was to be divided with the various educational institutions under their control, hence the Native Americans in the Republican party who came to it after the death of the Know-nothing organization, were bitterly opposed to him. It will thus be seen that at the outset of Colonel Curtin's career as the Republican nominee for Governor of Pennsylvania, his own position as well as the position of his State, attracted the attention of the whole country. The necessity of carrying Pennsylvania in October for the success of the Republican ticket in November being so apparent, Mr. Curtin went to Chicago with Colonel Alexander K. McClure, who was chairman of the Republican State Committee, where they met Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, who was the candidate for Governor of that State. Although, as stated, the National Convention was chiefly in favor of Mr. Seward, it was through the determined influence of Mr. Curtin and Mr. Lane and their earnest admonitions that the delegates to the convention were compelled to give up their preference for Mr. Seward. The question was one of availability, and hence when Pennsylvania ranged itself along with Indiana in support of Abraham Lincoln, Seward's defeat was not only inevitable, but the nomination of Lincoln practically assured.

The Presidential convention over, and Mr. Lincoln nominated with an enthusiasm having scarcely a parallel

in the annals of nominating conventions, Colonel Curtin turned his attention to the duties of his own campaign with characteristic energy, and his brilliant personal canvass is still remembered with enthusiasm. Although the Democratic party in the nation was divided upon the issues of the day, it rallied in Pennsylvania to the support of Henry D. Foster. The contest was animating and exciting, being conducted on both sides with great energy and ability. Mr. Curtin spoke in nearly every county in the State, often addressing assemblies in two or three places in a single day. Magnetic and captivating, he everywhere attracted large audiences and created great enthusiasm in his favor, especially among the young men whose patriotism was aroused to fever heat. The election was held on the second Tuesday of October (under the Constitution of 1838), and Colonel Curtin was elected by 32,107 over Foster, a much larger majority than was anticipated by the most sanguine of his friends, while Mr. Lane was victorious in Indiana. The struggle, as stated, had been intensified by the fact that the Presidential election was to follow in November, and the two States named were justly regarded as the battle-ground where the contest was to be decided. But after the triumphant success of the October elections, all doubt was dispelled, and Abraham Lincoln was elected Chief Magistrate of the nation.

This was the culmination of political events which led to the civil war. Governor Curtin was called to the gubernatorial chair at a time when the greatest problems ever presented to American statesmanship were to be solved. The South, whose leaders demanded more slave territory, boldly threatened to secede and divide the Union in the event of the election of Mr. Lincoln. It

was under such appalling circumstances that Governor Curtin was called to speak for Pennsylvania in his inaugural address of January, 1861, two months before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln. The times were critical. The question was: Union or dis-Union. It was at this supreme moment that Governor Curtin showed his patriotism, his boldness, and true conceptions of the great principles involved in the mighty issue at stake. He spoke with words of deliberation, decision and wisdom, and made a record of statesmanship that stood the severest test of years of bloody and wasting war. "No one who knows the history of Pennsylvania," said he, "and understands the opinions and feelings of her people, can justly charge us with hostility to our brethren of other States. We regard them as friends and fellow countrymen, in whose welfare we feel a kindred interest; and we recognize in their broadest extent all our constitutional obligations to them. These we are ready and willing to observe, generously and fraternally in their letter and spirit, with unswerving fidelity. Ours is a national government. It has within the sphere of its action, all the attributes of sovereignty, and among these are the right and duty of self-preservation. It is based upon a compact to which all the people of the United States are parties. It is the result of mutual concessions, which were made for the purpose of securing reciprocal benefits. It acts directly on the people and they owe it a personal allegiance. No part of the people, no State, nor combination of States, can voluntarily secede from the Union, nor absolve themselves from their obligations to it. To permit a State to withdraw at pleasure from the Union, without the consent of the rest, is to confess that our government is a failure.

Pennsylvania can never acquiesce in such a conspiracy, nor assent to a doctrine which involves the destruction of the government. If the government is to exist, all the requirements of the Constitution must be obeyed, and it must have power adequate to the enforcement of the supreme law of the land in every State. It is the first duty of the national authorities to stay the progress of anarchy and enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania, with a united people will give them an honest, faithful and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the national Union at every hazard."

After the election of Mr. Lincoln, the South became more belligerent in its attitude, and threats were openly made that he would not be allowed to enter upon the discharge of the duties of his exalted office. His inauguration, however, took place, and the work of secession was commenced. It was at this trying hour that Governor Curtin showed the spirit and bravery of the true patriot. He early became one of the President's trusted advisers. Their meetings were frequent, and each soon came to appreciate the other's worth at its full value. In after years, Governor Curtin said that when he first met President Lincoln he did not impress him as being a great man. His greatness was then in a measure still dormant, that the war developed and brought out the latent qualities of leadership within him which would never have become manifest save under the most trying conditions. As a judge of men, and a gauger of public sentiment, he was almost infallible. His gifts in this respect were truly marvelous, but the grandeur of his character was brought into strong relief by the lights and shadows of the struggle for the Union.

On the breaking out of hostilities Governor Curtin at once took an active part in raising troops and making preparations to assist the national government. By inspiring addresses and proclamations he enthused the public mind and aroused the patriotism of the people.

On the evening of April 7, 1861, President Lincoln sent Governor Curtin a dispatch desiring to see him. On reaching Washington on the evening of the eighth, he found the President waiting for him in his room alone. He was a great deal depressed, because they had failed to succor Fort Sumter, which he supposed would have been accomplished. He remarked to the Governor that it looked as if we were nearing the beginning of a civil war. It had not been noticed officially. Congress was not in session, and the President said he could not do it, but, continuing said, "The Pennsylvania Legislature is in session. Will they respond, if you present the subject to them seriously?" The Governor replied that he was confident of it. Mr. Lincoln was anxious, and the Governor left, intending to return the next day to Harrisburg, but the President sent a message to the hotel to this effect: that if he were confident the Pennsylvania Legislature would respond, not to delay a moment. The Governor telegraphed Deputy Secretary of the Commonwealth, Samuel B. Thomas, to meet him on the arrival of the train in the night; and by morning had dictated and ready, the message which was delivered to both Houses. The Legislature responded promptly by appointing a committee of ten persons, five members from each House, and the bill was prepared and passed consonant therewith. On the ninth the President telegraphed the Governor, asking if he had acted, adding, "*Do not delay*," to which a reply was sent that the bill

was prepared and would pass. Fort Sumter was fired upon on the twelfth. Pennsylvania was foremost and always willing to enter first upon measures for the preservation of the Union.

On the thirtieth of April, 1861, when the Legislature met in extraordinary session, in obedience to his proclamation, to provide for the public defence, Governor Curtin earnestly held that the time was past for temporizing or forbearing, with a rebellion, the most causeless in history. "The North had not," said he, "invaded a single guaranteed right of the South. On the contrary, all political parties, and all administrations, had fully recognized the binding force of every provision of the great compact between the States, and regardless of the views of State policy, the people had respected them. To predicate a rebellion, therefore, upon any alleged wrong, inflicted or sought to be inflicted, upon the South, was to offer falsehood as an apology for treason. So would the civilized world and history judge that mad effort to overthrow the most beneficent structure of human government ever devised by man. The leaders of the rebellion in the Cotton States, which resulted in the establishment of a provisional organization, assuming to discharge all the functions of governmental power, had mistaken the forbearance of the general government; they accepted a fraternal indulgence as an evidence of weakness, and insanely looked to a united South, and a divided North, to give success to the wild ambition which led to the seizure of the national arsenals and arms; the investment and bombardment of the forts, the plundering of the mints,—had invited piracy on the commerce, and aimed at the possession of the national capital. The insurrection," continued he,

“ must be met by force of arms ; and to re-establish the government on an enduring basis, by asserting its entire supremacy ; to re-possess the forts and other government property so unlawfully seized and held ; to insure personal freedom and safety to the people and commerce of the nation in every section, the people of the loyal States demand, as with one voice, and will contend for, as with one heart ; and a quarter of a million of Pennsylvania’s sons will answer the call to arms, if need be, to wrest us from a reign of anarchy and plunder, and secure for themselves and their children for ages to come, the perpetuity of this government and its beneficent institutions.”

The conflict had indeed commenced. The clangor of arms resounded in the land, and men ceased their peaceful avocations to respond to the call of their country. All business was practically suspended, and excitement reigned supreme. Communication between the capital and the loyal States had been cut off by the revolt in Baltimore. The troops called for from Pennsylvania, under the President’s proclamation of the fifteenth of April, had been immediately furnished, and more were promptly offering their services. The command in the State had been assigned to General Patterson, a brave and experienced officer, but by reason of the interruption of communication with the national government and Chief, he called upon Governor Curtin for a reinforcement of 25,000 men. The Governor at once issued his proclamation, and the response surpassed all expectation. From every part of the State, from every village, hamlet and city, men came singly, in squads, and in companies ; and the requisition was in rapid progress of being filled, when, upon the re-opening of the way through

Baltimore to Washington, an order was received from the Secretary of War revoking General Patterson's requisition, for the reason as stated, that *the troops were not needed*, and that less than the number already called for would be preferred to an excess. Fatal error on the part of the Washington authorities. But Governor Curtin more clearly foresaw and understood the magnitude of the impending civil war, and with a sagacity only equaled by his patriotism, resolved to prepare for it according to his appreciation of the public danger, and the probability of a future call for men. With a long line of Southern border exposed to the sudden incursions of the enemy, and the national army composed of only three months' men, and likely even with these to be outnumbered in the field, he straightway determined not to rely upon what he believed to be the mistaken judgment of the authorities at Washington for the protection of the Pennsylvania border.

At Harrisburg, thousands of men were already in camp, or on their way there from every portion of the State, their services having been accepted, when the order of revocation was received. But instead of disbanding these men, Governor Curtin at once directed that their organization should be preserved against future needs. The sequel showed the sagacity of his conception. He immediately applied to the Legislature for authority to form a corps of thirteen regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and one of artillery, to be organized and equipped by the State, and held in readiness, subject to the call of the national government. Authority was granted, and the result was the formation of that magnificent military organization afterward known as the famous Pennsylvania Reserves, an organization which became

powerful as an arm of defence and distinguished itself upon many fields of blood. The disaster at Bull Run aroused the authorities to a better conception of the magnitude of the rebellion, and of the terrible earnestness of the South. Governor Curtin had not yet completed the entire organization of his corps, when there came a pressing appeal from Washington to have the Reserves sent forward with all possible haste. Thus was the wisdom and patriotism of the Governor, in recommending the formation of the corps, quickly vindicated.

In view of the expiration of the service of the three months' volunteers, and of the great danger threatening the national capital, and realizing in full the magnitude of the slave-holders' rebellion, Governor Curtin on the twentieth of August, 1861, issued an appeal to the freemen of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, that the city of Washington was again believed to be in danger, that the President had made an earnest appeal for all the men that could be furnished, to be sent forward without delay—that if Pennsylvania should then put forth her strength the hordes of hungry rebels would be swept down to the latitudes where they belonged; that if she faltered, the seat of tumult, disorder and rapine might be transferred to her own soil, and it, therefore, behooved every man so to act that he would not be ashamed to look at his mother, his wife or sisters. The three months' volunteers, whose discharge had so weakened the army, were urged by every consideration of feeling, duty and patriotism to resume their arms at the call of their country, and aid the other men of Pennsylvania in quelling the traitors.

There is no feature so attractive in the formation and service of the regiments which Pennsylvania

contributed to aid in crushing the insurrection of the people of the slave States, than that of the origin of the regimental battle-flags, the actions in which they were borne, their present condition and place of deposit. In May, 1861, the Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania, an organization formed of the surviving officers of the Revolutionary War, and their descendants, donated to Governor Curtin a sum of money to be used toward arming and equipping the volunteers of the State. On the eighth of May, the Governor, in a special message to the Legislature, announced the tender of this money, and requested that he be authorized to receive, and direct how to apply it. At his suggestion, in a series of joint resolutions, the Assembly directed him to apply the money in the purchase of regimental flags, to be inscribed with the arms of the State. The standards thus prepared were delivered to the regiments in the field, or forming, bearing the regimental numbers according to the regiments of Pennsylvania in the war of the Revolution. The Reserves secured the greater portion of the flags thus inscribed. Governor Curtin was also authorized to procure flags for all the regiments of the State, serving in the Union Army, emblazoned with the number thereof, and the coat-of-arms of the Commonwealth. These resolutions also provided for the return of all the standards to the possession of the State at the close of the war, to be inscribed as the valor and good conduct of the soldiers of each regiment deserved; and whenever the country may be involved in any future war, they are to be delivered to the regiments then formed according to their number, as they may be called into service. Such was the origin of the battle-flags of Pennsylvania. And, Governor Curtin, in person, presented each regi-

ment with one of these ensigns, the ceremony either taking place at camp within the State, or in the camps of the army at the front, to which they were assigned. Such events were always interesting. The magnetic eloquence of the fervent Governor, eliciting the spontaneous enthusiasm of the men who received their standards with vows that were zealously kept, while the pledges of personal devotion which the Governor made to look after them in sickness, wounds, or death, and to provide for the widows and orphans of those who were gone, were as religiously fulfilled.

On the tenth of September, 1861, while the Pennsylvania Reserves were at Tenallytown, accompanied by President Lincoln, the Secretary of War, the Commander of the Army of the Potomac, and other notables, Governor Curtin presented the colors to General McCall in the most fervent and impassioned language, so characteristic of the man and the times that his eloquent words are worthy of remembering. That he came there on a duty enjoined by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. That the remnant of the descendants of the heroes and sages of the Revolution in the Keystone State—known as the Society of the Cincinnati—presented him with a sum of money to arm and equip the volunteers of Pennsylvania who might go into public service in their exigency. Referring the subject to the Assembly they instructed him to make these flags, and to pay for them with the money of the Cincinnati Society. He had then placed in the centre of the azure field the coat-of-arms of the great and glorious State of Pennsylvania and around it a bright galaxy of stars. The peaceful pursuits in Pennsylvania, said he, have been broken. Many of the people have abandoned those arts of industry which led

to development and progress, and have been forced to bear arms. They responded to the call of the national government, and while they were there in obedience to that call, their fellow-citizens at home were occupying the camps they lately vacated. All the material wealth and the life of every man in Pennsylvania stood pledged to vindicate the right, to sustain the government, and to restore the ascendancy of law and order. That they were there for that purpose, with no hope of acquisition or vengeance, nor from any desire to be enriched by the shedding of blood. The people of Pennsylvania were for peace, but if men lay violent hands on the sacred fabric of the government unjustly, spill the blood of their brethren, and tear the sacred constitution to pieces, Pennsylvania was for warfare to the death.

“How is it,” exclaimed the Governor, “that we Pennsylvanians are interrupted in our progress and development? How is it that our workshops are closed, and that our mechanical and agricultural pursuits do not secure their merited reward? It is because folly, fanaticism, rebellion, murder, piracy, and treason, pervade a portion of this land, and we are here to-day to vindicate the right, to sustain the government, to defend the constitution, and to shed the blood of Pennsylvania, if need be, to produce this result. It will do no harm to repeat here, in the presence of so many Pennsylvanians in arms, that in our State the true principles of human liberty were first promulgated to the world, and there also, the convention met that framed the constitution; and Pennsylvania, loyal in the Revolution, now stands solidly and defiantly to arrest the treason and rebellion that would tear into pieces the sacred instrument of our glorious Union of States. Should the wrong prevail,

should treason and rebellion succeed, we have no government. Progress is stopped, civilization stands still, and Christianity in the world for the time, must cease—cease forever. Liberty, Civilization and Christianity hang upon the result of this great contest. God is for the truth and the right. Stand by your colors, my friends, this day delivered to you, and the right will prevail. I present to you, to-day, as the representative of the people of Pennsylvania, these beautiful colors. I place in your hands the honor of your State. Thousands of your fellow-citizens at home look to you to vindicate the honor of your great State. If you fail, hearts and homes will be made desolate. If you succeed, thousands of Pennsylvanians will rejoice over your success, and on your return you will be hailed as heroes who have gone forth to battle for the right. They follow you with their prayers; they look to you to vindicate a great government, to sustain legitimate power and to crush out rebellion. Thousands of your friends in Pennsylvania know of the presentation of these flags to-day, and I am sure that I am authorized to say that their blessing is upon you. May the God of battles, in His wisdom, protect your lives, and may right, truth and justice prevail!"

III.

Of the many eventful circumstances which occurred during the progress of the civil war, Governor Curtin was a prominent leader. Their narration, however, in this biographical résumé is not within our province. There were instances, however, which deserve consideration. Next to President Lincoln, Mr. Curtin took the leading and prominent part in considering the great questions which came up as the war continued. He was the central figure in the famous Altoona Conference of loyal Governors, called to consider the Emancipation Proclamation, and its probable effect as bearing on the war. That conference had its inception in a dispatch Governor Curtin sent to Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, early in September, 1862, stating that in his opinion the time had come to give the war a definite end and aim, and that it seemed to him that the Governors of the loyal States should take prompt, united, and decided action in the matter. Governor Andrew replied that he shared the same views, and a voluminous correspondence between the Governor of Pennsylvania and the Governors of the other Northern States followed. Finally, Governors Curtin and Andrew went to see Mr. Lincoln, who told them that he was preparing a proclamation emancipating the slaves, and asked them if it would not be advisable for him to wait until they had requested him to act before issuing it. They told him that by all means he should issue it first, and they would at once follow it up with a strong address of commendation and support.

As a result of that interview with the President, it was agreed that the course which Governor Curtin proposed should be followed. With that understanding the conference met at Altoona on the twenty-fourth of September, 1862. Though the President's proclamation had already appeared, several of the Governors were found to be hesitating and doubtful. However, the majority favored unswerving support of the President, and after a conference of several hours, Governors Curtin and Andrew were selected to draft the address. When it was finished, the latter arose and walked the floor nervously. Both of them felt keenly the weight of the tremendous results that would follow their action. Governor Curtin was the first to sign the address, Governor Andrew signed next, and the others an hour or so later. The only one who did not sign it was Governor Bradford, of Maryland. "Gentlemen," he said, "I am with you heart and soul, but I am a poor man, and if I sign that address I may be a ruined one." Under these circumstances all agreed that it was best that Mr. Bradford should do as he did. The following afternoon the address was presented to the President at the federal capital. It was feared at the time that the bold stand which the conference took would cost their election, but subsequent events showed that they had struck while the iron was hot, and had touched the popular chord. Governor Curtin's triumphant re-election the following year was one evidence of this, and elsewhere the endorsement of the course of the loyal Governors was fully as flattering and unmistakable.

No one was more eminently fitted for the responsible position as Chief Executive of a great commonwealth in times of war and rebellion than Governor Curtin.

Apart from the stern duties of his office, his administration was conspicuous likewise, for the beneficent and merciful policy adopted to temper the terrible scourge of war. He was ceaseless in his devotion to the interests and the wants of those whom the State had given for the national defence. He went to the field and visited them in their camps—not with pomp and ceremony, but to encourage them by personal intercourse. In the hospital he solaced the dying, gave words of hope to the wounded and suffering, and bore messages of affection to and from loved ones at home. No letter from a soldier at the front, whether officer or private, was ever received without being promptly answered. It mattered not how impossible was the request, if it could not be granted the reason of the refusal was kindly told. In every time of suffering and discouragement the soldier felt that he who represented the power and majesty of the Commonwealth at home, was mindful of him. Wherever were sickness, or wounds, or death, there was the official agent of the State to perform every duty to the living and the last rites to the dead. The bodies of the deceased were brought back to sleep with their kindred, and their names enrolled in the lists of the martyred patriots.

Another matter growing out of the war, was the organization of the Soldiers' Orphans' Schools. In Governor Curtin's message to the Legislature, January 7, 1863, he stated that in July prior, he had received an offer from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company of a donation of \$50,000 to assist in paying bounties to volunteers. This he declined, because he had no authority to accept it on behalf of the public, and was unwilling to undertake the disbursement of the fund in his private capacity. Fully appreciating the promises

he had made to the soldiers in the field, to care for the orphans of those that fell in battle, Governor Curtin conceived the idea of the establishment of that system which led the way to provide for the education and maintenance of the destitute orphans of the patriots in arms. To this Colonel Thomas A. Scott, then the vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, promptly acceded, and at once measures were formulated to carry into effect the plans proposed concerning these "wards of the State." Besides, it was a just debt, which the State owed to the brave men who perished in its defence, that their children should be cared for at its expense; and no deed of the illustrious Executive has cast a more resplendent lustre on his name and memory.

Amid the vicissitudes of the camp, and the march, and the carnage of the battlefield, thousands of Pennsylvania's soldiers fell, never more to return to their homes, to their friends and their once happy families. The children of many of those fallen patriots were left without either father or mother, and often with no one to care for or protect them. Ignorant of a mother's love, and robbed of a father's tender care, the cry of the orphan appealed for pity; and, thanks to a kind Providence, the ear of one man in Pennsylvania was not deaf. That man was Governor Curtin! His sympathies were the first to be touched, and his generous nature first responded to the cry. He first conceived the idea of making the orphans of the soldiers the children of the State! And through evil report and through good report, he clung to that idea with a lion-hearted resolution, until he saw his plan successfully consummated.

Therefore, to Governor Curtin, and to him alone, are

the people indebted for the benefits and blessings, which, for a period of thirty years flowed from these institutions of philanthropy. Thousands of orphan children enjoyed their parental care, moral culture and educational training, who otherwise would have suffered poverty and want, and been left to grow up in idleness and neglect, and many widows' hearts were gladdened by the protection, comfort, and religious solicitude extended to her fatherless offspring.

Governor Curtin in an eloquent war speech, just after the fall of Fort Sumter, promised that Pennsylvania would permit none of her soldiers to be buried in other soil; and that their children should be the wards of the State, that the widows of soldiers should be protected, and their orphans cared for and educated at the expense of the Commonwealth. More than twenty years after it was made, and seventeen years after the war had ended, a friend asked him how this promise of his had been kept.

"Religiously," he replied. "Commissioners were placed in every corps of the army, and every Pennsylvania soldier found, wherever he went, the representative of his State specially charged with the task of looking after his necessities. If he were sick in the hospital, if he were wounded in battle, if he were on the march or in camp, he found that his State had a watchful eye over his comfort. Pennsylvania was the first State to do this, and no Pennsylvania soldier ever fell in battle whose body was not sent home for burial, if his body could be identified, and application made therefor. The State did indeed care for the wives and children. It protected the widows and educated the orphans. Twenty thousand soldiers' orphans have been educated in the

different soldiers' orphans' schools throughout Pennsylvania, provided by the gratitude of the State for the valor and patriotism of her soldiers, while to-day the Industrial School in the Cumberland Valley attests the interest of the Commonwealth in the children of her heroic defenders. A marvelous fact is, that out of the twenty thousand who have been educated in these schools, only two have ever been accused of crime." In the history of the world, there has never been a nation that has provided for its soldiery with anything like the watchful generosity with which Pennsylvania kept the promise Andrew G. Curtin made as its executive at the beginning of the war.

The story of Gettysburg has been told and retold. It occurred during a crisis in the affairs of the Commonwealth which cemented its people and made them almost of one mind. The invasion of the State by the rebel horde caused intense excitement through the entire loyal North. The battle of Gettysburg was the Thermopylæ of the nation; it was the decisive victory of the war, and, from that time onward the Confederacy was doomed. Politically it had its effect, and made Pennsylvania the stronghold of Republicanism. Much of the history of that period, which is deserving of preservation, showed the true character of Governor Curtin and the patriotic motives which controlled his action. His various proclamations had their effect in arousing the people, and they gave nobly of their blood and treasure to the cause of the Union.

As the end of Governor Curtin's term as Chief Executive of the Commonwealth approached, the cares of office and the anxiety of mind had a telling effect upon his health. From his arduous labors he was forced to

give himself for weeks at a time, to the exclusive care of an eminent physician. President Lincoln appreciating his eminent services, and recognizing the necessity of a change, of climate and employment, for him, promptly tendered him a first-class foreign mission, which Mr. Curtin signified his willingness to accept, when his term should expire. But there was no man in the State so strongly engrafted upon the affections of the people, civil and military, as Governor Curtin. The devotion which he exhibited upon all occasions to public interests, and especially the prompt and able manner in which he sustained the national government, as well as the untiring sleepless attention bestowed upon the soldiers of Pennsylvania, whether in the field, the camp, or the hospital, united in making a record for him which any man in the country might be proud to possess. Therefore, in view of his character, qualifications and services he was regarded as the most suitable and available candidate for the gubernatorial chair, in the ranks of loyal citizens, and, although there seemed to be a formal withdrawing of his name, the people were determined to restore it, and the public sentiment in all portions of the State, was to renominate and re-elect him without regard to his own wishes. The great pressure brought to bear upon him, not only by the men in the field, who filled the mails with appeals to him to continue as the standard-bearer of the loyal people of the Commonwealth, and that his great work of assisting to crush the rebellion and save the Union, in which he was engaged with all the enthusiasm and strength he could command, was unfinished, and that it was his duty to yield to the wishes of his friends.

Reconsidering his determination and leaving the mat-

ter in the hands of his friends, Governor Curtin was renominated by the convention which met at Pittsburg on Wednesday, August 6, 1863, the vote being almost unanimous. Notwithstanding his apparent broken health, Governor Curtin made a personal canvass, and in all portions of the State the enthusiasm was remarkable. It is true there was a feeling of intense political bitterness prevailing on the part of some who sympathized with the Southern Confederacy, but the great patriotic element, powerful and determined, in behalf of the Governor was active, vigilant and aggressive. That political campaign of 1863 was an ovation of eloquence and patriotism, and the addresses, not only by the Governor, but those of his friends, were remarkable specimens of campaign oratory. As previously stated, thousands of voters were beyond the limits of the Commonwealth, facing a defiant foe, but they, almost unanimously, favored the re-election of the War Governor. Re-elected by a majority of over 15,000 votes, the rejoicing of those who were loyal to the government was not alone confined to the limits of Pennsylvania, but the entire North expressed its appreciation of the success of the one great Republican Executive of the loyal States.

During the entire period of the war the reputation of Pennsylvania for promptness in furnishing troops, when called for by the national government, was steadily maintained. And while Governor Curtin was zealous in the nation's cause, he did not forget that the great State over which he presided was an empire in itself, and that its vast wealth and resources were constantly tempting the enemy to devastate it. He never asked that the armies in the field should be diminished to protect the State, or maintain its authority; but while

promptly forwarding troops to the front as fast as called for, he was always anxious to raise forces for local protection in addition to these.

It was on account of this vigilance and self-sacrificing devotion, that he came to be called the "War Governor of Pennsylvania," a title as appropriate as it was merited, and which never forsook him.

IV.

Governor Curtin's second election occurred in October of 1863. New York was to follow with her Gubernatorial contest in November, 1864. Governor Curtin was invited to speak in that State by the Republican committee. He invited Colonel Biddle Roberts, of Pittsburg, and Colonel A. K. McClure to accompany him. New York was in doubt, and great anxiety was felt by the friends of the Union as to the result therein, for it was a dark period in the struggle, and, to hold Pennsylvania and New York firm to the cause, was considered of the greatest importance. The first meeting was held in Elmira. The vast building was packed, containing many thousands of excited and anxious people to hear the "Great War Governor of Pennsylvania." The scene was wonderful; the mighty course of eager, excited people, while Governor Curtin, standing drawn to his full majestic height, with his right arm raised, his face aglow with the fire of determination, like a war god, thundered out: "*I have lashed the Keystone to this rebel craft, and by the eternal God, I will fight her while I have a man or a dollar left.*"

The roar of applause may be imagined. It was the acclaim of a great and true people who approved the utterance and caught the sacred fire that glowed in the speaker's own heart. The Empire State was saved to the Union cause.

There is no doubt that the triumphant re-election of Governor Curtin strengthened the Union sentiment and encouraged the armies in the field. And no one was

more pleased over the result than President Lincoln, who regarded him as his right-hand support. But his continued ill-health was a source of solicitude to the President and the loyal element. In 1864 he was so much reduced by sickness that his life was despaired of; and in November of that year he was ordered by his physicians to spend the severe winter months in the island of Cuba, and thither he sailed. The visit, fortunately, did him much good, and he returned home greatly improved in health and sufficiently recuperated to resume his active duties in the Executive Department.

Although the trusted friend and adviser of the President, Governor Curtin did not hesitate to criticise any act of the Administration, or its representatives at Washington, which did not strike him as fair and just. He was bold, fearless and intensely loyal; always the champion of his people, and their defender whenever it became necessary to step between them and the encroachment upon their rights by the civil and military power.

Soon after the commencement of the excessive quota of Pennsylvania under the call for more troops, he addressed to President Lincoln a long and pungent letter ventilating the morality, common sense and arithmetic of the Provost Marshal General's Office. He complained that while the enrollment act provided that in assigning the quota of any given district, the number of men that had been furnished, and the period of their service, should be taken into consideration, the government had taken account of the number of men and the term of their enlistment. It was this misconstruction of the law which, in his opinion, had thrown the War Department into inextricable confusion, that had only been enhanced by the "numerous and contradictory orders and long

essays" which it had occasioned. Of course it would be impossible to arrive at more than an approximate estimate of the period of service of a thousand different men. This Governor Curtin admitted; but he pointedly argued that surely every reasonable man could say for himself whether he had found "that getting one pair of boots for three years, was practically equivalent to getting three pairs of boots for one year." The visionary character of the system on which they proceeded could not be better illustrated than by the result at which they had arrived on that occasion. The quota of Pennsylvania on the previous call had been proclaimed as 61,700; while her quota to make up deficiencies under that same call was also announced to be 66,999 men. It was simultaneously promulgated that the quota of the Western District had on revision been fixed at 22,543, which would make that of the whole State about 44,000; and later on it was announced further, that the quota of the Western District was 25,512, and that of the whole State 49,583. All of these changes being caused by no intervening circumstances that the Governor was aware of. In fact, he said the quota on that call had been filled, and there could be no deficiency to be supplied. The plan was unjust to the districts and to the government. It wholly ignored the losses of men by desertion, sickness, death and casualties. These were greater during the first year of service than afterward. A town which had furnished 3000 men for one year, had probably lost three-fifths of them from these causes before the expiration of their term. Another equal town which had furnished 1000 men for three years might, before the expiration of that term, have lost seventeen-twentieths of them. The first town

will have thus given 1600 men to the country, the second but 850. The Governor held there was no equality in this. The exhaustion of the industrial population of the two towns was in very unequal proportions. As to the government: The government had in the first case the actual service during the whole year of 1400 men; in the second case the actual service of, say, 400 men during the whole first year, of probably not more than 200 during the whole second year and, say, 150 men at most during the whole third year. He also rightly claimed that the provision of the enrollment act thus interpreted was set aside months prior by subsequent enactments. The amendment of February 24, 1864, provided that the quota of each sub-district should be as nearly as possible in proportion to the number of men resident therein liable to military service, taking into account the number of men already furnished. Both the period of their service and the term of their enlistment was tacitly ignored; while again, the amendment of the following July fixed one year as the term of service for a drafted man, making that the unit of measure. Volunteers for not less than that term were to be credited to their localities on the quota and receive a certain bounty from the government. Such of them as chose to enlist for longer terms received further bounties from the government, but so far as regards the increased term beyond one year were not to be credited on the quota but left on the same footing that all volunteers were on before the act of 1863. What the people complained of was not the number of men demanded, but the shuffling, equivocal, incomprehensible way in which the government made its wants known. The responsibility for this method of procedure was justly laid at the

door of Secretary Stanton rather than the President or the Provost Marshal General. It was the former who, with a scratch of his pen, ruled the War Department and allowed no rival near his throne.

In the correspondence upon this subject Governor Curtin did not mince words. He insisted that Secretary Stanton's subordinates were wholly disregarding the act of February, 1864, that they were proceeding in open and direct violation of it, and thus creating naturally great confusion and uncertainty among the people. Announcing on the one hand that, although a three-years' man counts only as a one-year's man toward the quota on which he volunteers, yet that he shall be counted as three one-year's men toward the quota on a future call. This was done directly in the teeth of the law. On the other hand they ciphered out a deficiency on this call by counting three one-year's men as only equivalent to one three-years' man, which was equally against law. The Governor insisted that the quota of Pennsylvania under the call of July was filled in accordance with the law by men to serve for not less than one year. The term of service of those men had not yet half expired and yet the subordinates of the Secretary of War were threatening a draft to fill an alleged deficiency on that very call, the existence of which they attempted to make out by persisting in their unlawful and unsubstantial theories and calculations.

The Governor and people of Pennsylvania knew that the government required more men; that they were ready to furnish them—heavy as the burden had become on the industrial population—but they insisted that the requirement be made in the clear and definite shape which the law provided for, when it would be cheerfully

complied with, but they would not tolerate that the subordinates of the War Department should be permitted longer to pursue the system of substituting for the law an eccentric plan of their own.

On behalf of the freemen of the commonwealth, who had always given a cheerful and hearty support to the national government in the prosecution of the war for the Union, the Governor emphatically insisted that Secretary Stanton enforce upon his subordinates that obedience to the law, which he, as well as they and all others, owed. It was of evil example—it tended to enfeeble, nay to destroy, the just power of the government—that he should not suffer his officers to treat with open contempt any acts of Congress, and especially those which he had himself approved, and which regulated a matter of such deep and delicate moment as the enforcing a draft for the military service.

While this sharp criticism did not disturb the equanimity of President Lincoln, it excited the animosity of Secretary Stanton, who was both sensitive and dictatorial. But, finding that the Governor of Pennsylvania did not fear him and could not be frightened by his brusque and imperial manners, the Secretary subsided to a certain extent and treated the great "War Governor" with respect. The most pleasant relations, however, continued between Governor Curtin and Mr. Lincoln, and they existed until the latter's thread of life was severed by the assassin's bullet.

V.

At the National Convention held at Chicago, in 1868, Mr. Curtin's name was presented by the Pennsylvania delegation as their choice for vice-president on the ticket with General Grant. Owing to the fact that Pennsylvania was sufficiently *sure* that year, while Indiana was not, Schuyler Colfax, of the latter State, was given the nomination. During that Presidential contest, however, he took an active part in the election of his great friend and admirer. In the canvass he had lost none of his former fire and eloquence, and no one so well succeeded in arousing enthusiasm for the hero of Appomattox. It was naturally expected, therefore, that when General Grant assumed the reins of office, that Governor Curtin would be gratefully remembered. Shortly after his inauguration President Grant nominated Mr. Curtin as Minister to Russia, and the nomination was promptly confirmed. The Russian mission had always been considered one of the most important positions in the gift of the President. At this particular time it was especially the case. For several years the American government had been badly misrepresented at St. Petersburg and it was necessary that a gentleman like Governor Curtin, whose attractive, affable manners, large experience in public affairs, undeviating devotion to the interests of his country, fitted him most eminently to represent the United States at the Russian court. The people of Russia and America had always been friends, and during the struggle for the Union it was Russia whose sympathies for the loyal North kept in

check the clamors of England and France to recognize the Southern Confederacy. It was not strange, therefore, that when the war had ceased, the people living under the only true free government in the world, and the people living under the greatest monarchical government in the world, should have been such devoted friends.

His appointment gave great satisfaction in Pennsylvania, and the Legislature of the State passed a joint resolution commending it and conveying the best wishes of the members to Mr. Curtin for his restoration to health, so much impaired by his work and constant labors in behalf of the commonwealth, and declaring that "he has and always will receive the grateful assurances of the high regard and esteem in which he is held by his fellow-citizens, without regard to partisan views, on account of the noble and self-sacrificing spirit displayed by him, alike in the hours of victory and defeat, and the fidelity with which he executed the solemn and responsible trust committed to his hands by his fellow-citizens." Similar resolutions were passed by the city councils of Philadelphia who tendered Governor Curtin a public reception in Independence Hall. In addition to this marked evidence of devotion, the leading citizens, without distinction of party, united in giving him a banquet at the Academy of Music, which has never been excelled for elegance and every manifestation of popular affection and esteem. Fresh from that hall, around whose walls clustered the grandest historic and patriotic associations, he was met in the magnificent banquet room by the most prominent men in every walk of life who made the welkin ring to his honor.

Everything being in readiness, Minister Curtin having been accompanied to New York City by a committee

of citizens, he sailed for Europe on June 11, 1869, bearing the grateful good wishes of all his countrymen. He was received in England with marked respect, and all along the way to St. Petersburg his journey was a triumphant one. His fame as the "War Governor" of Pennsylvania had preceded him, and there was a strong desire on the part of the people to see and welcome him. He was accompanied by his wife and daughters. His diplomatic services at the court of the czar were in a high degree distinguished, and he did very much to promote the traditional friendship and courtesy between the two nations. He won the esteem of the Emperor Alexander. Governor and Mrs. Curtin well maintained the honor of the United States at St. Petersburg.

Of the story of that mission, unsolicited by him, it is not necessary to go into further details than narrated in another portion of this work. Suffice it to say, that no representative of the United States was more cordially received, more hospitably entertained and more graciously treated. There is one incident connected therewith which it is proper here to state, and that is, that while Minister to Russia, a cruel edict was issued by that government, banishing the Jews of Bessa-Barabia. The President of the United States cabled Minister Curtin to use his best offices, which he not only promptly did, but interested himself specially and went outside of his official duties to effect the desired result, which he accomplished in the most satisfactory manner. The edict was recalled, the Russian Jews not banished; and the act, so cheerfully and humanely done, was regarded by the friends of humanity everywhere as worthy of the highest appreciation.

Prior to his leaving Russia, the emperor proposed to

present him with his portrait, in remembrance of the good sentiment that he had always manifested toward Russia, as well as an evidence of the favorable impression created by him, and the warm friendship felt for Governor Curtin. This portrait, as well as that of Prince Gortschakoff, was subsequently forwarded to America and prominently placed on the walls of Governor Curtin's pretty residence in Bellefonte.

To an old campaigner the honorable ease of such a post was a great delight, and it brought Mr. Curtin not only rest and congenial occupation, but the restored health which he greatly needed. However, the course of political events at home distressed him. He had supported the war for the union and peace, *not* for partisan oppression or personal aggrandizement. He saw the party he had helped to organize and lead to victory abandoned to the control of selfish schemers. His sympathies were with the liberal movement in which so many of his former friends and associates had embarked, and to secure liberty of political action he resigned his mission in the summer of 1872. On his way home to America, Minister Curtin was met both at Paris and London by authorized offers of either of those missions if he would remain abroad, but he declined to entertain the proposition.

Mr. Curtin's return to the United States revived the interest felt in him by his friends, and the report of his arrival was heralded far and wide. His absence, as stated, had enabled his political antagonists in the State to gain a foot-hold that redounded to his disadvantage. These feared him because of his popularity with the people and they, therefore, sought every opportunity to cripple his strength, that they might profit thereby. It

was not to be wondered at, therefore, that he finally became identified with the Liberal Republican party. Although disappointed, with many others, in the outcome of the Cincinnati Convention of that year, he threw his influence in support of the movement.

At this period there was much discussion about the propriety of calling a convention to revise the State Constitution of Pennsylvania, which had not undergone revision since 1838, and Governor Curtin was appealed to for his opinion on the subject, which he cheerfully gave in a lengthy letter, published at the time and which had great weight in determining the action of the General Assembly in regard thereto. When it was decided to call a convention, public attention was turned to Governor Curtin as a suitable person to be made a representative therein. The movement met with great favor and he was nominated as a delegate-at-large by the Liberal Republicans. At the same time ex-Governor Bigler voluntarily retired from the Democratic ticket to enable that party to tender Governor Curtin a unanimous nomination, resulting in his election, and also carrying him into the fold of the Democracy. Governor Curtin's exceptional experience in State government made him one of the most practical and useful members of that body, and many of the most beneficent reforms of the new fundamental law are of his creation. The debates and journals of that convention contain numerous references showing the labors and ability of the War Governor. Especially was this the case in the able and timely speech "On the rights of the people in the effort to centralize power, and the dangers of restricting the representatives of the masses." As is well known, the revised constitution was adopted by a majority of over one hundred

thousand. It has formed the basis or model for the various revisions of the different State constitutions in the Union, and fully exemplifies the result of the labors of that remarkable body of able men, one of whose leaders was Andrew Gregg Curtin.

Once again Governor Curtin retired to domestic life ; but a man of his prominence and ability could not be permitted thus to hide himself away from public view and public action. Of course now and then he appeared at some soldiers' reunion, and especially at those of the Pennsylvania Reserves, of which organization he was president, where he was wont to keep up their remembrances of the dark days of the Republic, of their participation in the struggle for the Union and the Constitution, while with his old-time vigor and eloquence he regaled his comrades with the scenes and acts of other and momentous times. But, wearying of the quiet life and longing for the political field, it was not surprising that when in 1878 the Democratic party of the Centre District nominated him for Congress, that he accepted the same. This was at the time when the greenback craze was at its height, and through a combination of disgruntled partisans from all ranks, he was ostensibly defeated for the position. There being, however, evidence of fraud in the election, he made a contest before the National House of Representatives, but he was confronted by the opposition of Alexander H. Stephens, ex-vice-president of the Southern Confederacy and others of that ilk, who were then in Congress and controlled its actions, as "reconstructed rebels." To them such a man as Andrew G. Curtin was very distasteful, and they gratified their resentment by defeating him for the place which rightfully belonged to him. Their animosity was engendered by his efforts

to sustain the government during the war in 1862, by calling the Altoona Conference of Governors, and inspiring the nation by his eloquence to renewed efforts for its safety.

But Governor Curtin bided his time. A man of his transcendent abilities, eloquence, patriotism, and efforts in behalf of the people, could not be crushed. He was renominated in 1880 and triumphantly elected, and in two successive contests thereafter he was returned to Congress from the same district by large majorities. For many years he was chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, whose labors have always been arduous and appreciated by all having diplomatic intercourse with the government. He was a close friend of President Cleveland during his first administration, and was influential upon the floor of the lower House, while his brilliant oratory has left upon the pages of the *Congressional Record* his remarkable statements upon all subjects of moment and of interest to the nation at large.

During his six years of service in Congress he was one of the most popular men in that body, and the favorite in every social circle. Strangers visiting the national capital always desired to have him pointed out to them, that they might, on their return home, say that they had seen Pennsylvania's great "War Governor," the man whose fame filled all the land.

Retiring from Congress in March, 1887, Governor Curtin returned to his mountain home. He was then upward of seventy-one years of age, and he naturally sought repose and quiet. This he hoped to enjoy in the midst of his neighbors and friends, and in the seclusion of his splendid library, which was filled with the choicest literature of the day. In the midst of his charming

family he always appeared at his best, for it was there that his great qualities of heart and mind manifested themselves in the highest. Selfishness was an unknown quantity in his organization, consequently his hospitality was unbounded, and his sympathies went out for suffering humanity. We have seen how boldly this principle stood out in his sublime efforts in behalf of those whom the civil war made miserable. The humblest "Knight of the Road" was never turned away empty-handed from his door, and he had as warm and steadfast friends among this humble and despised class as he had among the rich and the powerful. Of a social and genial disposition, he was always happiest when he had some of his old friends and acquaintances assembled around him. Full of anecdote and reminiscence, he dearly loved to recount the incidents of the past and illustrate occurrences by humorous applications.

VI.

In the quietude of his Bellefonte home, Governor Curtin spent the evening of his life, and watched the twilight deepen into darkness. Gradually his robust constitution gave way to the weight of years. In the autumn of 1894 he was prostrated by a severe attack of illness, caused by nervous troubles, brought on by mental strain and a general breaking up of the system, superinduced by old age, and after lingering for several days he died at five o'clock on the morning of October 7, 1894. Thus passed away in his eightieth year, not only one of the most prominent characters of the times, but one of the ablest governors who ever presided over the destinies of the State. His death, though not unexpected, caused a profound sensation, and the sad news was flashed to every corner of the Republic and across the seas to distant lands.

Since the death of Lincoln, perchance no death in the Union called out more expressions of profound regret than did the death of Governor Curtin. There was not a newspaper published in the United States that did not pay him some tribute as one of the heroic characters of the period of the Rebellion so fast passing away. Everywhere in the grand old commonwealth did the men who went through that struggle for the Union cease their labors, and, gathering together at their Posts, recall to mind the eminent services of the "War Governor of Pennsylvania," and expressing in the warmest terms their love and veneration for the dead, and their sympathy for the living. Many messages of condolence

were received by the family, and the burgess of the town of Bellefonte issued a proclamation lamenting the loss to the town, while all of the business houses were immediately draped in mourning. Governor Pattison sent forth the following proclamation announcing the sad event, in which he recounted Governor Curtin's eminent services to the commonwealth :

“ It is with profound sorrow that I announce to the citizens of this commonwealth the death of Andrew Gregg Curtin, which occurred at his home in Bellefonte, at five o'clock a. m., this seventh day of October, A. D. 1894. His death leaves surviving but a single one of my predecessors in the Executive Office of Pennsylvania. He was one of the most distinguished in the long line of illustrious men. Dying at the age of fourscore years, until lately his eye was not dim nor his natural force abated, and few, if any, of the citizens of our State ever maintained so lasting a hold upon the affections of its people. Native of Pennsylvania, he sprang from a race of hardy men who left their impress upon its citizenship and who had been alike conspicuous in public affairs and in the development of the material interests of the commonwealth. For more than half a century he was a member of the learned profession of the law, and though at times his towering prominence in politics overshadowed his fame as an advocate, his legal training, during his entire public career, was of inestimable advantage to himself and benefit to the State.

“ Conspicuous as the possible candidate of his party for governor as early as 1854, he was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth to Governor Pollock, and with the exercise of the ordinary duties of that office he combined the direction and management of the public school system

of the State, then in a somewhat formative condition, and which gained great impulse toward its future usefulness from his wise counsel. He was a most potent factor in determining the political conditions of the country during the period of the beginning and prosecution of the war for the Union, and for six years he discharged the duties of the office of governor, to which he had been elected, and re-elected, in a manner that won for him, above all his contemporaries, the title of 'The War Governor.' He was conspicuously helpful to the federal government and President Lincoln, and while always jealous of the honor and regardful of the dignity of his own commonwealth, he aided largely to make the part of Pennsylvania in the great struggle second to that of no other State in the Union. He was active in raising and equipping troops, and the splendid organization of the Pennsylvania Reserves was owing to his exertions. He was indefatigable in his ministrations for the comfort of Pennsylvania's soldiers in the field, on the march, in the camp or in the hospital. No personal service in this behalf was too exacting for him to render, and again and again his presence inspired our soldiery, and his sympathy cheered the wives and children of the absent, and the widows and orphans of those who never returned. To him, above all others, the State is indebted for the establishment of the Soldiers' Orphans' Schools, and the country owes to him the splendid example of Pennsylvania's care for the children of her soldier dead.

"He and his native State were honored by his appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to one of the great powers of Europe, and he was eminently successful in establishing and maintaining the most cordial relations of Russia's great empire with our Republic. He sat an

honored member in the Constitutional Convention which framed our present fundamental law. He represented with distinction one of the principal congressional districts of our State in the House of Representatives in the United States, and when he retired to private life he was followed with the affectionate regard of the people of all parties and of every section of the commonwealth, of which he had been a faithful public representative. His presence in every popular assembly, and especially on the occasions of military reunions, was always the occasion for veneration of his imposing and genial personality."

One of the most touching allusions to his memory was made by his life-long friend, Colonel A. K. McClure, who in the *Times* of the eighth of October said: "Just as yesterday morning's sun was lifting the curtain of night in the east, with the promise of the brightest of autumn Sabbaths, the life of ANDREW GREGG CURTIN ended in that dreamless sleep of the dead. Measured only by his great public record that is rarely equaled in patriotic achievement, in field or forum, he did not die untimely. He had passed the period allotted to mortals and his great work was finished. For several years he has rested from the wearying exactions of public affairs, but he did not lag superfluous on the stage. His interest in the country in whose annals he has written a most illustrious chapter, was never lessened; and his life closed in that mellow grandeur of ripened years, with all the cherished affections of youth and beloved by all who came within the range of his acquaintance."

The funeral of Governor Curtin took place on Wednesday, the tenth of October. In every respect it was

one befitting the memory of the man whose life had been so eventful, and potential in the history of the State. It was a tribute which in its pathos stands unrivaled in the annals of sorrow of the Keystone State. Properly, the family consented to permit a military service, and Pennsylvania ordered an appropriate cortege for the one who had been its stay in the hour of trial. The military escort detailed by the Governor consisted of five companies from the 12th Regiment of the National Guard ; four from the 5th ; Battery B, of Pittsburg ; and the Sheridan Troop of Cavalry, of Tyrone. Ex-Governor James A. Beaver, of Bellefonte, had charge of the funeral arrangements, and they were admirably carried out. Everywhere in the town could be seen the manifest sorrow of the people, while Governor Pattison and staff, with those of Major General Snowden, and Brigadier Generals Gobin and Wiley, in addition to many other distinguished men from all sections of the State, were present to pay their last respects to the distinguished dead.

At ten o'clock in the morning, the Centre County Bar Association held a memorial service in the court house. Governor Beaver calling together the notable gathering explained to them that the Bar Association had appointed a committee of which he was chairman, regarding the death of the leader and the oldest member of the bar. Judge Furst was called to preside, who, upon taking the chair, gave the honor of eulogy to those of the visitors who were designated to pay tribute to the memory of the departed.

Colonel William B. Mann, of Philadelphia, seventy-nine years of age himself, was the first to respond. Despite his weight of years he began in a clear voice to

express an unnecessary apology for his consciousness of his inability to do justice to the occasion. Nevertheless, he paid an eloquent and touching tribute to the memory of Governor Curtin, and related a number of incidents in his life, when and where he first met him, and how he was impressed by him. "Tall, handsome, beautiful, he looked like an intelligent statesman of long ago, and turning around as I looked at him, I said to myself, 'How much he reminds me of Alcibiades of Athens, as I had read of him.'" Colonel Mann was followed by Governor Pattison, who spoke in his usual impressive manner, stating that in the hour of greatest trial in the history of the country Governor Curtin was a household name in the city of Philadelphia where he was reared. That he was of marked personal appearance, he inspired people, and he lives, not only in history, but in the lives of men, the impression he made was simply the inspiration of his own character on that of others. Honorable John Scott, general solicitor for the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, and Honorable William A. Wallace, of Clearfield, Pa., made noteworthy addresses. They were followed by Colonel A. K. McClure, of the Philadelphia *Times*, who paid a tribute to Mr. Curtin's memory in an oration of great power and beauty. Depicting the character of his deceased friend, whom he had known and loved for nearly half a century, he spoke feelingly of the dead man's characteristics and treated fully of the conditions under which he created the famous "Pennsylvania Reserves," and without a precedent to guide him, laid down the policy which afterward guided the nation through the struggle of civil war. He closed his eloquent eulogy over the bier of his friend in these chaste and beautiful words :

“When the sun passes beyond your mountain and sets in the far west, we call it night. The night is come, but throughout the long watches of the night, the god of day throws back his refulgence upon the stars and light is eternal, and so of a life like that of Governor Curtin. We bear his body to the tomb to-day, but we bury not his memory. We bury not his achievements, his records, his examples. They will remain with us, lustrous as the silver stars of night, that never permit darkness to come upon the earth. And so from generation to generation in Pennsylvania will the memory of this man endure, will the love for him be perpetual, and as those who come generation after generation to hear the story of his greatness, of his devotion, his liberality, his humanity toward all mankind, he will dwell in the sweet memories of Pennsylvania, and while the high cliffs of his mountain home shall stand as sentinels around his tomb, wherever there shall be the altar and worshiper of free government, there will be the lovers and worshipers of the memory of Andrew Gregg Curtin.”

General J. P. S. Gobin, of Lebanon, in a few remarks eulogistic of the deceased statesman, graphically described how Governor Curtin placed in his hands the colors of one of the two hundred and twelve regiments which composed the Pennsylvania volunteers during the War of the Rebellion.

Memorial services at the court house had scarcely ended when the hour of noon was tolled and the body of the dead chief was carried into the court room by the hands of the grizzled veterans, and guarded by a squad of soldiers. Across the casket was draped the American flag; the face was exposed and the friends and neighbors

gazed for the last time on the lineaments so dearly loved. The finger of death had touched the familiar countenance kindly ; he had evidently passed away with a smile on his face, for there was still a smile on his visage. For nearly two hours a stream of people passed by the coffin, some in tears, others in affectionate awe.

The religious services took place at two o'clock, in the charming old Curtin mansion. These were conducted by the Rev. Dr. William Laurie, of the Presbyterian Church, Bellefonte, where the Governor had worshiped, assisted by the Rev. Dr. T. H. Robinson, of the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, who was Governor Curtin's pastor during his first term as governor. Dr. Laurie read the funeral discourse from the text : " And the king said unto his servants, Know ye not that a prince and a great man has fallen this day in Israel ? " (2 Sam. iii. 38.) Meanwhile the funeral procession had been arranged in line under the direction of General Beaver. It was headed by the military escort, to which reference has been made. Following came the special escort of one of the posts of the Grand Army of the Republic, under charge of Colonel Amos Mullin, after these the honorary pall-bearers : Governor Pattison and Judge Dean, Senator Scott and Senator Wallace, Judge Brooke and General Taylor, Colonel A. K. McClure and Colonel Mann, Judge Biddle and Colonel McMichael, Judge Furst and C. C. Humes, Esq., and General Hastings and Thomas Collins. Following came the body with the active pall-bearers, consisting of representatives of the Soldiers' Orphans' Sixteeners, the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, and the Grand Army of the Republic. Then came the members of the family, followed by the representatives of the Pennsylvania Reserve Association,

the members of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of which Governor Curtin was the only honorary member; representatives of the Union League of Philadelphia, general and officers of the National Guard, the Governor's staff and staffs of the brigadier generals, and other officers according to rank; representatives of the Centre County Veterans' Association, followed by several Bar Associations of Centre County and adjoining counties. At least 1200 of the citizens of Bellefonte and vicinity followed in the pageant,—one of the most magnificent ever seen in Central Pennsylvania.

Reaching the family plot in the Union Cemetery, the body of Governor Curtin was laid to its final rest. At the grave the concluding services were conducted by Gregg Post, Grand Army of the Republic, of Bellefonte. At the conclusion, three volleys were fired by the National Guard, with a volley from the battery in the adjacent field. Finally the bugle sounded "taps," amid a stillness and awe which filled the eyes of the veterans, who sorrowfully felt in their hearts that they had in verity lost a "friend."

CURTIN AND FREE SCHOOLS.

BY HENRY C. HICKOK.



HENRY C. HICKOK.

William Penn founded his Commonwealth upon the enlightened principle that "That which makes a good constitution must keep it, viz: men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of

youth." Passing over the experimental colonial period when seeds were planted which are producing fruit to-day, we come to the Constitution of 1790, which required the establishment of schools throughout the State in such a manner that the poor might "be taught gratis." This provision of the Constitution remained inoperative notwithstanding many enlightened efforts to the contrary, until 1809, when a law was passed providing that the children of indigent families, after being reported as such to the assessors and registered, could be taught in existing

schools, and the tuition bills paid out of the county treasury. The badge of pauperism made this plan odious to the families coming within its provisions, and only a small percentage of the children for whom it was intended could be induced to avail themselves of the opportunity thus offered. It was practically a failure, and resolute efforts were made by the friends of education and successive governors for the ensuing twenty-five years to get free schools established, but without success, until during the second term of Governor George Wolfe, and largely owing to his persistent and determined efforts and influence, our first free school law was enacted in 1834.

It should be added here that amongst other influential citizens one of Governor Wolfe's staunchest supporters in school matters was Robert Vaux, of Philadelphia, who is entitled to more credit in that connection than has generally been accorded to him.

The Act of 1834 had been preceded in 1833 by a special report by Samuel McKean, Secretary of the Commonwealth, in reply to a resolution of the House, in which he denounced in vigorous terms the objectionable character and utter insufficiency of the law of 1809, and the imperious necessity for a general system of education without regard to class distinctions.

The Act of 1834 was framed mainly by Senator Samuel Breck, of Philadelphia, and whilst including manual training and district supervision by inspectors, was as a whole incongruous and impracticable. It did make it the duty, however, of school directors to appoint "capable teachers at liberal salaries." It also established borough and township school districts, differing in this respect from the single school districts of other States.

This form of organization was an original and strong feature of our Pennsylvania school policy, and has been successively adopted by twenty other States of the Union, New Jersey being, quite recently, the latest to fall into line. Three other States are said to contemplate adopting our plan at an early day. Its passage raised a storm of opposition, and at the next session, 1835, a bill to repeal it passed the Senate by a large majority, and it was expected to pass the House also without serious objection. When the bill came up in the House, Thaddens Stevens, a member from Adams County, after an invited consultation with Governor Wolfe, and at his request, took the floor in opposition to the repeal, showing by an arithmetical calculation that the free schools would cost less money than the pauper system, and following it up by what he himself regarded in his old age as the most effective forensic effort of his life, carried the House triumphantly against repeal, and left to the friends of education a statutory basis for further aggressive movements.

Governor Wolfe, having failed of re-election owing to a split in his party, was succeeded by Governor Joseph Ritner, a staunch and uncompromising school man.

In 1836 Dr. George Smith, Senator from Delaware County, and chairman of the joint committee of the two Houses on education, prepared and reported and succeeded in passing a revision of the school law of 1834, which in its organization of school districts and school boards and some other minor details has remained substantially unchanged to this day, and became the foundation of the superstructure which has since been erected upon it.

The Act of 1834 made the Secretary of the Commonwealth ex-officio Superintendent of Common Schools, and so remained until 1857. In that capacity Thomas H. Burrowes, of Lancaster County, during Governor Ritner's term rendered the pioneer service of putting the school system into operation, prescribing rules, regulations and forms for the guidance of school directors in organizing and administering the schools. This service and his final report in 1838 gained for him great reputation, but there being neither public sentiment nor public funds to make his suggestions, in that report, available, it slowly faded from the public consciousness and was forgotten. This was the common fate of school reports all through the germinating period of our school history. It was only upon the republication of that report in the *Pennsylvania School Journal* some thirty or forty years afterwards, that its foreshadowings were understood.

By vote of the people in their respective school districts (townships and boroughs) the acceptance of the school law was gradually extended over the State—the northern counties being amongst the first to act—until in 1849 the Legislature felt itself strong enough to decree the acceptance of the school system in all the districts, although as late as 1860 there were still scattered townships, ten or twelve in all, in which no common schools had ever been established. The people had become accustomed to the presence and working forms of a common school system and appropriations were made to academies and colleges in the mistaken hope that they would furnish teachers for the common schools. Three months' imperfect tuition in a year was of course better than none, but after some fifteen years

of trial it was only too evident that the common school system was very far from meeting the expectations of its projectors and friends. Except in some centres of population under local laws the common schools became a reproach to the Commonwealth instead of a blessing. There was little in their loose and inefficient management to command respect or inspire confidence. We had the outlines of a school system, but without power, supervision or accountability. Their increasing degeneracy was a matter of grave solicitude and anxiety to all of our governors, and their annual messages showed an earnest desire for their improvement, but legislation did not get beyond superficial expedience until the enactment of the general school law of May 8, 1854, which, under the guise of a mere revision, was in reality a sweeping and comprehensive revolution in our common school policy, and still stands as the most potential force in our educational history, and constitutes the great divide between the apathy and inefficiency of the past and the energy and success of subsequent years. It cut the common schools loose from all entangling alliance with other institutions of learning; provided for the supervision of the schools by experts in the art of teaching; and conferred plenary power upon school directors to lift the schools in every district, from the primary to the high school, to the highest attainable excellence; the only limit in the ascending scale, being the financial resources of the district.

Unexplained this feeble evolution might leave strangers under a misapprehension as to the real educational status of Pennsylvania during these tentative common school years. Public spirit and denominational zeal and

emulation had multiplied colleges until they became weak from excessive numbers. Eastern colleges were largely patronized by the best families in the State. Academies, schools and seminaries sprang up everywhere, and with the colleges often received help from the State, and their privileges were eagerly sought by those who could or could not fairly afford it, and many sacrifices were made in that direction. The learned professions were never more ably filled or more honored and influential; the bar never stronger or more conspicuous for the learning and ability of its members, and the State never more weighty in the affairs of the nation; the blessings of education were never more craved and appreciated, but the public sentiment did not run in common school channels, and the expression, "the poor gratis," in the Constitution extended itself to the common schools, and exerted a blighting influence upon them.

Again, each period must be judged by its own circumstances. Those early years covered the development of great material interests, the building of roads, bridges and canals; a gigantic system of internal improvements piled up a debt of forty millions of dollars, the interest on which could only be met by taxation. The finances were so disturbed that for years our only money was "shin-plasters," issued by almost every borough in the State. The present generation can form no adequate conception of those times. It was under the pressure of such embarrassments that continuous efforts were put forth to vitalize and elevate the common schools. These facts should be borne in mind in order to a proper estimate of those anxious and harassing years.

The year 1852 found Governor William Bigler, of Clearfield County, who had set his heart upon reforming

the common schools, in the executive chair, with Francis W. Hughes, of the Schuylkill County bar, as Secretary of the Commonwealth and ex-officio Superintendent of Common Schools, and Henry L. Dieffenbach, of Clinton County, a well-known journalist, as Chief Clerk of the "School Department," then an obscure adjunct of the Secretary's office. His positive convictions and constitutional hardihood of moral courage, which made him insensible to popular clamor, peculiarly fitted him for the work in hand at that formative period. To disseminate information amongst the people, Mr. Dieffenbach commenced to publish the current decisions and explanations of the department in the *Harrisburg Keystone*, of which he was editor, whence they were extensively copied by the country press, and attracting attention awakened a new interest in common school affairs. Mr. Hughes served only one year, but his brief annual report contained the germ of much that was afterward embodied in the school law of 1854. He pointed out with legal astuteness many particulars in which our school system was radically defective in its organization, his opinions being the result of difficulties and controversies brought to his notice by the chief clerk for adjustment, and Mr. Hughes had framed the outline of a bill to meet these defects. He was succeeded by Charles A. Black, an accomplished lawyer of Greene County, who had served in the Senate with Governor Bigler. During his two years' term the work of revising the school law was assiduously kept up by Mr. Dieffenbach in consultation with Mr. Black, as had been the case with Mr. Hughes, until at length in the early part of the legislative session of 1854 a completed bill was ready to be submitted. It provided for normal

schools, but those sections were stricken out in the Senate Committee. It provided also for the county superintendency, which had been recommended by Secretary Findlay as far back as 1835, and a dozen years later strongly urged in his second annual report by Jesse Miller, of Perry County, ex-officio Superintendent under Governor Shunk. It also made the chief clerk, deputy superintendent with power to act, and Mr. Dieffenbach occupied that position until the close of Governor Bigler's term. The bill had been framed not upon any abstract theory nor patterned after the laws of other States or countries, but slowly built up section by section to meet ascertained difficulties and defects in our own law as they developed themselves in the current administration of our school system. The bill was thus indigenous, and the result of our own necessities and experience, and the character and circumstances of our people.

It was first introduced in the Senate where after much resolute and determined opposition it was passed by a majority of one vote, and after the vote was taken five Senators to save themselves with their constituents filed a written protest against the county superintendency. In the House the bill was in the skillful and efficient management of Robert E. Monaghan, of Chester County, chairman of the Committee on Education, backed up by the entire influence of the Administration, but not in any partisan sense, and after much earnest discussion was passed by a majority of seventeen. While it was pending, Henry Barnard, LL. D., of Connecticut, editor of Barnard's *Journal of Education*, and afterward United States Commissioner of Education at Washington, while on a visit at Harrisburg carefully examined its provisions, and assured its friends that if it should become

a law Pennsylvania would have the best common school system of any State in the Union. It also had the earnest approval of that broad-minded champion of the common schools, Bishop Alonzo Potter.

The passage of the bill marked an epoch in our educational history. The jelly fish character of our school system disappeared, and it became a vertebrate and robust organization. It was approved by Governor Bigler on the eighth of May, with the full consciousness that he thus endangered his own re-election in October following, but declared to his friends that he would sign the bill without regard to any adverse influence it might have upon his political fortunes. He was overwhelmingly defeated by the political cyclone of that memorable year, but the storm of opposition to the new school law, especially to the county superintendency, contributed largely to swell the vote against him. Directors, teachers and taxpayers made common cause against that obnoxious office, and their opposition was felt heavily at the ballot-box.

The opposing candidate, ex-Judge James Pollock, of Northumberland County, became Governor January 19, 1855. Andrew G. Curtin, of the Centre County bar, was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth and ex-officio Superintendent of Common Schools. By request of the Governor, Henry C. Hickok, of the Union County bar, was appointed deputy superintendent to succeed Mr. Dieffenbach. The Legislature had been in session nearly three weeks, but was resting on its oars awaiting the installation of the new Governor, to see what his policy was to be. There was a general expectation that one of the first things to be done would be to tumble the obnoxious school legislation of the previous session

overboard, under the impression that it would be too heavy a load to carry, but it was not so understood at headquarters. Looking into the matter after his inauguration, Governor Pollock found that the new school law was substantially right in principle, and he came to the conclusion that it should have a fair trial to see how far it could be made successful in practice. It was found that powers and agencies that had long been sought and that were essential to any well organized school system were already entrenched in the citadel of the statute book, and although prodigiously unpopular it was the obvious duty of the hour to defend that citadel against all comers no matter how formidable the odds. Any other law, if equally efficient, would for that reason be equally unpopular, and the fight for better common schools, if we were ever to have them at all, might as well be made then as at any future time, and better, because we had the advantage of fighting in possession which was half the battle.

As premier of the Administration it became Mr. Curtin's province to personally communicate with the speakers, committees and members of the two Houses to rally the Legislature to the support of the Governor's policy on this subject, a very arduous and difficult task on account of the bitter and implacable hostility to the county superintendency, and members whose constituents were up in arms against that office could not easily be influenced by anything said at Harrisburg to change their votes in its favor. They had to protect themselves at home. Petitions to abolish the office were pouring in by every mail, and bills for that purpose had been introduced in the House, and action on them only delayed until it could be known what the Governor's

position could be. A bill did get through the House after a very earnest resistance on the part of the friends of the system, but it was defeated in the Senate, then a conservative body of exceptionally able men, amongst whom were a large number of Mr. Curtin's personal and political friends and adherents, who were ready at all times to co-operate with him in any movement that he thought it desirable to make to protect our school interests. The failure to get a general bill through was followed by numerous bills to abolish the office in particular counties, and it required strenuous and persistent efforts to retard and defeat them.

Wearied with these prolonged and harassing conferences and appeals, which were so often fruitless, Mr. Curtin changed his tactics and taking the bull by the horns assembled the county superintendents in convention at Harrisburg to meet the Legislature face to face. Their first day's session was held in the hall of the House, which had been granted for the purpose, and it made a good impression. The next day they met in the Supreme Court room, where they were addressed by Mr. Curtin, Dr. McClintock, chairman of the Senate Committee on Education, and by the Governor, and the Deputy Superintendent. The Governor stated that there should not with his consent be any backward step in common school affairs during his term, and that if any of the pending hostile bills should get through both Houses he intimated very plainly that they would be returned with a veto. This greatly cheered the superintendents and the friends of the cause, and exerted a restraining influence upon adverse legislation.

A bill that was a covert attack upon the superintendency did get through both Houses soon after, under

the championship of the chairman of the Senate Committee, but its sinister purpose being seen the Governor handed it to Mr. Curtin to prepare a veto message, which was promptly done, and the bill returned to the Senate on the broad ground that it was special legislation in its worst form. This was notice to everybody that the Governor's position would not be changed. It was in these persistent and indefatigable efforts and negotiations that Mr. Curtin rendered most valuable service to the cause. The present generation can form no adequate idea of the intense and bitter opposition to the county superintendency in those days. Governor Pollock remarked to the writer twenty years afterward in reference to the pressure upon himself that it was about as much as a man's life was worth to stand by the county superintendency at that period. The opposition did not come from the illiterate alone, but some intelligent and strong men in the House were the most resolute in their hostility. Two years later one of the ablest men in the State demanded and obtained of the Speaker of the House, the chairmanship of the Committee on Education for the express purpose of breaking down the county superintendency. He thought better of it, however, as the session progressed and became one of its staunchest friends. I went over to the House at the session of 1856, to listen to the reading of the Governor's first annual message, and see how his views on the school question would be received. There were evident signs of dissatisfaction; and one member in the outer circle near my position in the lobby, turned angrily in his seat, and denounced the Governor, *sotto voce*, in terms so much more emphatic than polite, that they cannot here be quoted. The crusade against the county

superintendency continued during the whole of Governor Pollock's term, and while, as was natural, it greatly disturbed the politicians, to whom it was very annoying, unpopularity not being a recognized element of political success, yet to the friends of education it was a very hopeful sign of the times, and a matter of positive exultation. "The sleeping giant," as Pennsylvania has sometimes been called, was roused at last, and though her interest in education came in the form of bitter antagonism, yet that was to be welcomed as evidence of wakened life that could be moulded and guided into right channels and to wise results. Better thunder and lightning, hailstorms and cloudbursts, than hopeless stagnation.

In his first annual report Mr. Curtin referred in strong terms to the deplorable mismanagement of the common schools in the past as a justification and necessity for the new law. He also commended teachers' institutes for the improvement of teachers.

His second annual report was devoted mainly to a discussion of normal schools, a subject which the friends of education had much at heart without seeing any chance of getting them. The report made a marked impression on the Legislature and the public, and brought a score of college and seminary presidents and professors to Harrisburg to see what was in the wind, and how their interests were likely to be affected. Believing from all the indications that the time had come when something practical could be accomplished, Mr. Curtin in consultation with the Speaker of the Senate secured the appointment, upon motion, of a special committee of five, with Titian J. Coffee, of Indiana County, chairman, to take the subject into consideration. After due

deliberation the committee submitted a brief, but comprehensive and strong report written by the chairman, Mr. Coffee, and accompanied by a bill prepared in an emergency by Dr. Burrowes at the request of the Deputy Superintendent, which is now our State normal school law, which had been submitted to Mr. Curtin and meeting his approval in the main, was handed by him to the committee with his endorsement. The bill was placed on the files of the two Houses, and after a time came up for consideration in the Senate in its regular order, and so convincing was the committee's report, and so well had the ground been prepared, that the bill passed the Senate without a dissenting vote. What the result in the House would be was uncertain. It so happened that it could not be called up for consideration until the last day of the session on which bills could be considered, and there were a number of important bills in which leading members were interested that were before it. Mr. Curtin in consultation with the Speaker and Committee on Education, and other friends of the cause in the House, arranged to have the normal school bill taken up on motion out of its order, and had, as he believed, secured votes enough to sustain the motion. Going over to the House with Mr. Curtin to witness the proceedings I found he was not sanguine of success, but thought if nothing occurred to break his lines or stamper his forces, the bill might succeed in getting through. Every supposed danger had been carefully guarded against so far as possible, except one. The leader of the House, Mr. Foster, a liberally educated gentleman of great influence, and a good common school man in a general way, had an important bill of his own on the calendar, and was not likely to yield precedence to the

normal school bill without a struggle, in which case the odds would be heavily against us. Although politically opposed, Mr. Curtin and Mr. Foster were warm personal friends, and Curtin took it upon himself to hold Mr. Foster in check if possible until the required forms of legislation could be gone through with. When the time came for action Mr. Curtin and Mr. Foster were standing in the aisle near Mr. Foster's desk engaged in earnest conversation. The motion to take up the normal school bill was instantly challenged by a call for the 'ayes and nays, but being carried, the clerk, Captain Jacob Ziegler, who was in the secret, proceeded to the second reading of the bill, which being a long one took some time, although rapidly done. Mr. Foster became very restive before it was completed, and turned to the Speaker twice to move its indefinite postponement, but Mr. Curtin, with courteous insistence, persuaded him to let the reading go on, as the bill would be through in a very few minutes. The House was very still during the reading, and many curious eyes were turned toward those two distinguished gentlemen conversing so earnestly, but very few understood what that colloquy meant. They had before them the remarkable spectacle of the premier of an administration standing on the floor of an opposition House holding the opposition leader under moral duress against his will whilst passing a bill over his head—a piece of diplomatic audacity, skill and success without a parallel in parliamentary history that I ever heard of. The reading completed, a motion was made to change a district, but after a moment's whispered explanation was kindly withdrawn, and the bill went through the third reading, and—we were out of the woods. The bill had to get through

that afternoon or not at all. Its fate depended upon Mr. Curtin's ability to control Mr. Foster, whose influence over the House, if exerted, would be vastly stronger than his own. If the bill had not passed at that session it would not have been passed to this day, because by the next session combinations would have been made amongst the higher institutions of learning and some potential friends of education to compass its defeat or make sweeping changes in its character and provisions, whether for the better or not cannot here be discussed.

Mr. Curtin rendered another conspicuous service at that session in organizing a movement in the House to increase the annual State appropriation to the common schools from \$230,000 to \$300,000 to give more margin for a needed increase in the salaries of county superintendents at the second election in May of that year, and to prevent an open revolt on the part of oppressed taxpayers against the school law of 1854, many of whom had been paying twenty-six mills upon the dollar every year for three successive years for only a four-months' school term. It was carried in the House, and Mr. Curtin returned to his office very much relieved, but greatly surprised and disturbed by the discovery, on the floor of the House, of active opposition from prominent educational sources. The Senate cut down the amount to \$280,000, and that amount was carried by a majority of a single vote after one of the hottest debates ever heard in the Senate, the rich eastern counties voting solidly against it, except Senator James J. Lewis, of Chester County, who, seeing the peril of the situation, gave the casting vote in favor of the bill, and thus saved the day. If the bill had been defeated, the county superintendency could not have been maintained. The

money question was a very sensitive nerve to touch in those days as for many years before, and, even in 1895, with a plethoric State treasury, it seems to be as difficult as ever to get the State appropriation applied to *educational* purposes for the common benefit of all the people.

In his second annual report Mr. Curtin incidentally referred to the field work devolved upon the Deputy by the pressure of circumstances, and added, "In this connection it is but just to say that all the important labor of the Department is performed by the Deputy Superintendent and his subordinates, and to suggest that some reorganization be made to enlarge the powers and increase the efficiency of the Department. The undersigned would be insensible to the dictates of gratitude and justice if he failed to testify to the zeal and ability with which that officer has fulfilled all the important duties of his trust."

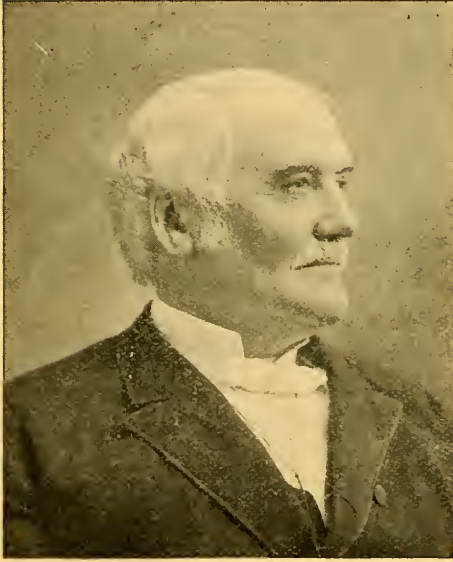
A separate school department was a cherished idea with the friends of education throughout the State, and had been officially and earnestly recommended by almost every Secretary of the Commonwealth from 1838 to 1854, and had been warmly endorsed by the State Teachers' Association, and by numerous other educational meetings. There had also been a growing public sentiment in that direction, under the belief that the magnitude and complexity of our common school interests required and justified such a department. A bill for the purpose was introduced in the House by the chairman of the Committee on Education, and when taken up in its order passed both Houses without calling the ayes and nays. The Deputy's name was sent into the Senate to fill the new position, and was unanimously confirmed.

In preparing this sketch only salient points could be touched upon, but I have endeavored in good faith to give Mr. Curtin the credit that is his due during one of the most disturbed and difficult and critical periods ever known in our school history. Its like can never be seen again.

May I be pardoned one further remark. There seemed to have been some confusion of ideas in the Legislature at the last session as to the responsibility for any mismanagement of the public schools, and a committee was appointed to investigate the subject. The problem is a very simple one. Each school district is an independent corporation, and the school directors are the supreme authority within its limits. Hence it follows that as are the directors so are the schools. Behind this is another proposition—as are the people so are the directors who are elected by their votes. In the ultimate equation, public opinion is behind the schools, and as it is for or against them or indifferent, so will be the schools.

CURTIN ELECTED GOVERNOR—1860.

BY A. K. M'CLURE.



A. K. M'CLURE.

The year of 1860 witnessed the greatest political revolution of our national history. During the three-quarters of a century of our constitutional government there had been but one great political revolution, when in 1800 Jefferson's election to the Presidency defeated the elder Adams and hopelessly overthrew the Federal

party that gradually passed out of existence. For sixty years after the success of Jefferson, what was originally known as Jeffersonian Republicanism and afterward Jeffersonian Democracy ruled the government, dictated its policy, and maintained it through all the various mutations of politics. The election of John Quincy Adams in 1824 was not a revolution but an accident, and he was accepted as a Jeffersonian Republican candidate. In 1840 and in 1848 the Whigs defeated the

Democrats by the election of Harrison and Taylor, but neither of these administrations reversed the policy of the government nor made their impress enduringly upon our free institutions. The only other important change in the policy of the government that approached the dignity of a revolution, was the overthrow of the national bank and the financial policy of the government under Jackson ; but as the United States bank had been sustained by the party that supported Jackson the change he wrought in our financial system could not be classed among our revolutions. Since the organization of the Republic there had been but one great political revolution, that accomplished by Jefferson in 1800, until 1860, when the most far-reaching revolution of the history of any government of modern times was accomplished by the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency.

The leaders in the great revolution of 1860 stand out more conspicuously in the annals of the Republic to-day than do the leaders of any great achievement since the inauguration of Washington. It was not a sudden eruption of public sentiment that gave the Republicans success in 1860. For a generation before, indeed from the passage of the Missouri compromise in 1820, the constant agitation of the slavery question was gradually forcing profound convictions on the minds of thoughtful and earnest men, and while most of them retained their old party associations until 1856, the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment was steady, rapid and aggressive. The battle over the admission of California, over the compromise measures of 1850, and the later conflicts in Kansas and Nebraska, resulting in civil war that was waged with the utmost savagery, did much to quicken the

anti-slavery sentiment of the North and to train it for organized and aggressive action. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case awakened the more intelligent people of the country to the fact that slavery had gradually advanced its power until it had practically made freedom sectional and bondage national. Such were the immediate causes which led to the political eruption of 1856, when John C. Fremont, a romantic political adventurer, swept the Northern States almost in their entirety, and was defeated for the presidency only by the failure of his friends to carry the Pennsylvania State election in October, when the majority was little more than 3000 against him. Instead of tempering and chastening the aggressive spirit of the slavery propaganda by the appalling uprising of the Northern States to efface party lines in defence of national freedom, the Southern leaders seemed more exasperated and goaded to more aggressive measures and more offensive methods to assert their mastery. The period between 1856 and 1860 was one of education, North and South, and the sections were rapidly crystallized for the great struggle and the mighty revolution of 1860.

When the Republican State convention met at Harrisburg in February, 1860, to nominate a candidate for governor and for supreme judge, the ablest men of the party were there as delegates, and they were representatives of the most earnest political conviction and determined political effort. They were not traders in politics; they were battling for a vital principle that was deeply seated in the conscience of the American people. There were there, as in all parties, those who look to the interests of the spoilsmen, but they were unheard or unheeded, and the new Republican party entered upon

its great battle with the utmost fidelity to its cause and absolute self-reliance in its ability to give it victory. Among the many young leaders of marked ability at that time Andrew G. Curtin towered conspicuously over all. He had every quality for aggressive leadership. Of imposing person, impressive manner, capable of forceful logic mingled with the keenest wit and sarcasm, and unsurpassed in eloquence, he was just the man to lead in a great revolution. The conflicts of ambition which are legitimate in all great parties, played their part to hinder his nomination for governor. Andrew G. Curtin and Simon Cameron were not friends. They had a desperate factional battle for the United States Senatorship in the Legislature five years before, and it left wounds which were yet fresh and inspired the bitterest hostility. Cameron was a candidate for president in the same convention that nominated Curtin for governor, and the estrangement between them largely commanded the sympathy of their respective friends. But for this complication the nomination of Curtin for governor would have been unanimous, but both Curtin and Cameron fought their battles to the end, and each won on the direct vote of the convention, showing that a considerable portion of the delegates were friendly to both. It was a most important convention, not only in its duty of selecting a candidate for governor, but also in defining the policy and declaring the principle for the new party that was soon to win a national triumph and rule the government for a quarter of a century. The convention sat for two days, and its deliberations were of the gravest character, while its discussions exhibited masterly ability. It was a battle of giants on every issue before the body, but underlying all the factional

divisions was the general and profound conviction that Curtin was the one man fitted to lead the party in the desperate conflict for the redemption of the nation. Two ballots were had for governor as follows :

	FIRST BALLOT.	SECOND BALLOT.
A. G. Curtin, of Centre	56	74
John Covode, of Westmoreland	22	27
David Taggart, of Northumberland	16	16
Thomas M. Howe, of Allegheny	13	10
Levi Kline, of Lebanon	12	7
Townsend Haines, of Chester	5	4
George W. Scranton, of Luzerne	4	—
Samuel Calvin, of Blair	5	1

As sixty-seven was a majority of the convention, Curtin's nomination was effected on the second ballot, and was at once made unanimous with great enthusiasm and without a dissenting vote. Thus was Andrew G. Curtin launched into one of the most desperate and memorable political battles of our national history. He was well known to the people. As early as 1844 he was on the stump following the tall white plume of Henry Clay, and in 1848 he was on the Whig electoral ticket, stumped the State for Taylor and cast his vote for him in the electoral college. In 1852 his eloquence was heard in almost every part of the State as the champion of Winfield Scott ; and in 1854 when he had been somewhat discussed as a candidate for governor himself, he voluntarily retired from the field in favor of James Pollock, his near neighbor, who was clearly the choice of the Whigs of that day. He made himself felt as a political leader in the campaign of 1854 when, as chairman of the Whig State Committee, he emerged from the conflict with 40,000 majority for his candidate and friend. He was called to the head of the Pollock cabinet in 1855

with the universal approval of his party, and when he appeared as a candidate to lead the new party in 1860, his old friend ex-Governor Pollock presided over the convention and announced the nomination of Curtin with pride and enthusiasm. When Curtin appeared before the convention to accept the high trust confided to him, he aroused it to the highest measure of enthusiasm by his heroic declaration that he would carry the flag of his cause from Lake Erie to the Delaware. How faithfully he fulfilled that pledge is yet remembered by many citizens of our State.

Looking back to the great conflict of 1860 and noting Curtin's 32,000 majority and Lincoln's more than 60,000 in November, it would seem that it was a victory achieved by default, but those who remember the political situation of that time well understand how desperate and doubtful was the struggle. The Republican party had not yet been distinctly organized in Pennsylvania. In the elections of 1858-59, the opposition to the Democracy had carried the State by a fusion of various elements under the liberal title of the "People's Party." There was a Republican party, an American party and a Whig party, and neither the Americans nor the Whigs were prepared to surrender their old affiliations and permit the new flag of Republicanism to be hoisted over them. And these elements were not homogeneous. They agreed only in the preliminary battles of 1858-59 to defeat the Democracy, but when it became necessary to put them in battle line under one flag, with one proclaimed faith, there was discord and danger of disintegration. The most delicate political leadership was necessary, and only the devotion of these various elements to Curtin's strong personality and matchless

ability made it possible to combine them and assure a victory. Several times during the contest the combination was on the point of utter disruption, and it was not until within three weeks of the October election that those who had the most intimate knowledge of the progress of the campaign felt confident of victory.

The battle in Pennsylvania in 1860 was of vastly more than State importance. It was in fact a battle for the election of a Republican president in November. At that time the States of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Iowa elected their State officers in October, and of these four Pennsylvania and Indiana were regarded as the key to the presidential contest. If Curtin could be elected governor of Pennsylvania and Henry S. Lane governor of Indiana in October, it would practically decide the defeat of the Democrats in November, and as Pennsylvania was then recognized as the keystone State in national contests, the struggle in this State was practically a battle for the election or defeat of Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. This fact centred all the efforts of both parties in the contest for governor of our State, and the Democrats, with the power and patronage of the national administration, logically made most exhaustive efforts to disintegrate the various elements which were supporting Curtin, knowing that the success of Curtin in October hopelessly defeated them in November. The Democrats had nominated as their candidate against Curtin, Henry D. Foster, of Westmoreland, a man of the highest character and ability and certainly the most popular Democrat in the State. He was nominated unanimously with the greatest enthusiasm by both the Breckinridge and Douglas factions in their State convention, and while the Democrats

were divided on the presidency, there was the most cordial unity in every section on Foster. The contest was, therefore, one of the greatest interest throughout the entire nation. The only resources possessed by the supporters of Curtin were the honest convictions of the people of Pennsylvania and their enthusiastic support of their faith. The era of money in politics was then comparatively unknown. In that great contest, where the voice of Pennsylvania was to decide the verdict of the nation a month later, the entire expenditures of the Republican State Committee did not exceed \$12,000. Not only the chairman, but the secretaries and all connected with the State organization, gave their time and their labor day and night during the contest without even the payment of their expenses, and it was with the utmost difficulty that enough money could be raised to pay the absolutely necessary cost of the organization throughout the State.

With great reluctance I accepted the call of Governor Pollock, president of the convention, and of Curtin, candidate of the party, to take the chairmanship of the State Committee. Several men of marked ability had sought it obviously with the view of making it a stepping stone to political promotion, but after a considerable contest, Pollock and Curtin tendered the position to the writer hereof and made it mandatory that the offer should be accepted. I had been in the convention as a delegate for Curtin, and was then a member of the Senate and ineligible to appointment under him, so that my recognition as chairman of the State Committee refuted the possibility of official favors from the new administration. The work of creating a great party out of varied and more or less incongruous elements was

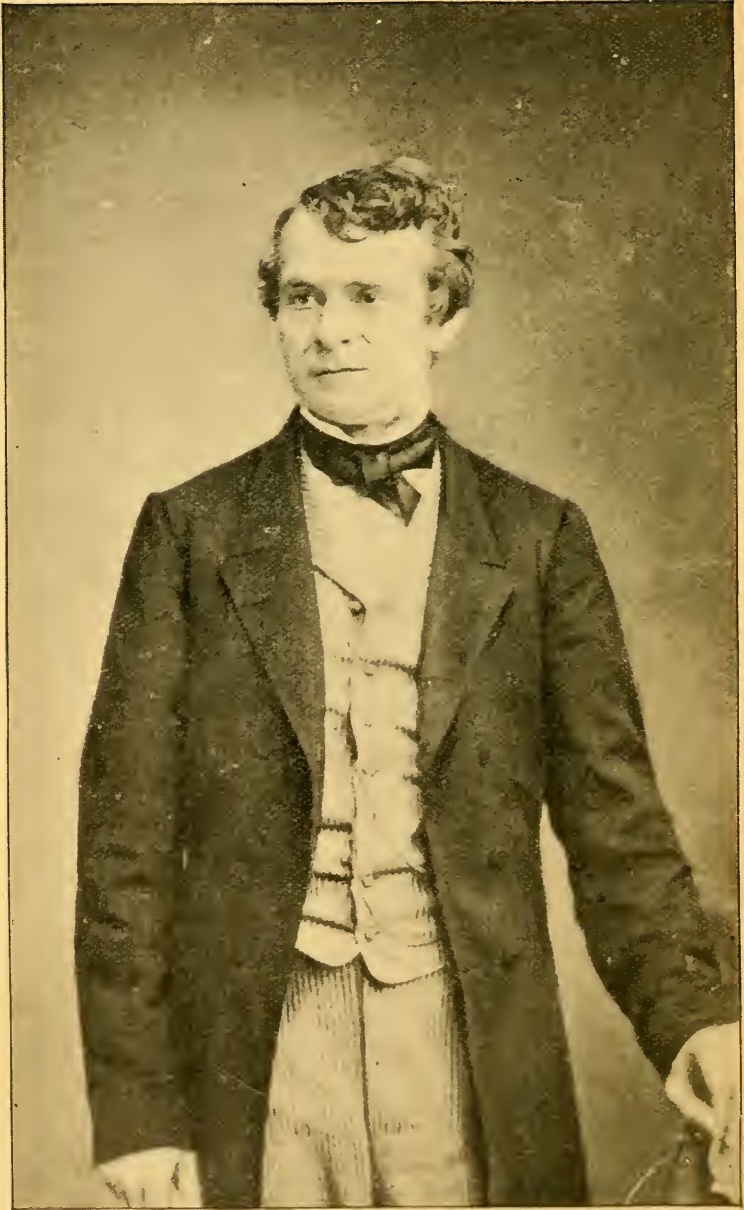
a task such as has not fallen upon the manager of a State contest in any of the later conflicts in Pennsylvania, but in that day devotion to political conviction made everything possible, and when men were called to effort and sacrifice there was no hesitation in obedience. The State was organized for the first time in its history in every election division of every county, and two careful canvasses were made of the vote of every precinct between the first of August and the middle of September. State organization thus reached into the political centre of every township, and it was this systematic organization brought into direct contact with every precinct, that crystallized into a solid organization the great Republican party of Pennsylvania; but all organization would have been valueless, or rather vitalized organization would have been impossible, but for the master leadership of the Republican candidate for governor. A program was prepared for Curtin by which he was enabled, even with the limited transportation facilities of that time, to speak once or oftener in every county of the State. It was with him perpetual battle. When he addressed the thousands of people at one place, he knew that there were by his side men waiting to take him immediately to another locality and often he did not know where. He devoted himself wholly to argument and intercourse with the people of the State. The details as to his movements were arranged with the most complete precision so that he did not disappoint a single audience during the entire campaign. His able opponent, Mr. Foster, was also on the stump, but with all his ability and popularity it became more and more evident each day as the contest warmed up that Curtin was gaining in the race. A

proposition was made at one time for them to meet in joint discussion, but it was abandoned by the mutual consent of both, and it was abandoned by Foster only because he could not safely meet Curtin face to face because of his entanglement with two presidential candidates. He would have been forced to declare for one or the other or to confess his lack of courage to do so. But for that complication he would have been a foeman fully worthy of Curtin's steel, and the State would probably have witnessed the greatest political joint discussion in its history.

The contest in Pennsylvania naturally brought Curtin into the closest relation with Lincoln. Lincoln's anxiety to win Pennsylvania in October was all-absorbing as he knew that Curtin's election meant his election in November, and Curtin's defeat meant his defeat. Lincoln not only corresponded constantly and frequently with both Curtin and myself during the campaign, but on two different occasions he sent his most trusted friends to see the inner operations of Republican movements, and report to him whether all was well. David Davis and Leonard Swett spent a week in the State on such a mission, and when they returned about the middle of September, they brought to Lincoln the very gratifying assurance that he could confidently rely upon Curtin's triumphant election in October. It was only natural, therefore, that Lincoln and Curtin should be bound to each other by indissoluble ties when both had been called to their responsible positions and compelled to meet the gravest issues that ever confronted any civilization of the world. They started hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, in the great battle for the revolutionary redemption of free government, and they were

in constant accord and sympathy until the bullet of the assassin made Lincoln the martyr of American history.

There had never been in the history of Pennsylvania before 1860, nor has there ever been since, nor can there be in the future, any contest comparable to the great battle of 1860, because of the strange and momentous issues which were involved. All knew that the issues were of unexampled gravity, but none believed for a moment that they could lead to the bloodiest war of modern times between sections which had, for three-quarters of a century, lived in unbroken brotherhood. Curtin won his election by over 32,000, and one month later Lincoln carried the State by over 60,000. It was the triumph of Curtin in October of 1860 that proclaimed to the nation and the world, that the great Republic of the earth had resolved upon revolution to nationalize freedom and sectionalize human bondage.



CURTIN IN 1860.

CURTIN'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION.

BY WILLIAM H. EGLE.

With the withdrawal of the members of Congress representing the Southern States in that National Legislative body, and all ideas of compromise having been thrust aside, the eyes of the people of the nation were turned toward Pennsylvania which had always been considered in every important crisis as the most conservative of the States. A new governor was to be inaugurated, and his enunciation of the principles of the dominant party and of the vast majority of the people of the Keystone State, were looked forward to with the greatest of interest. At last they came, and the people were not disappointed. On the fifteenth day of January, 1861, after having sworn faithfully to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, and to perform his duty with fidelity, Governor Andrew G. Curtin uttered the following remarkable inaugural :

Fellow citizens: Having been entrusted by the people of Pennsylvania with the administration of the Executive Department of the government for the next three years, and having taken a solemn oath of fidelity to the Constitution of the United States, and to the Constitution of Pennsylvania, I avail myself of your presence to express to you, and through you to the people of the State, my gratitude for the distinguished honor they have, in their partiality, conferred upon me.

Deeply impressed with its responsibilities and duties, I enter upon the office of Governor of Pennsylvania with a determination to fulfill them all faithfully to the utmost of my ability. Questions of great

moment intimately connected with the feelings and interests of the people of all parts of the nation, now agitate the public mind; and some of them, from their novelty and importance, are left for settlement in the uncertainty of the future. A selfish caution might indicate silence as the safest course to be pursued as to these questions by one just entering upon the responsibilities of high official position; but fidelity to the high trust reposed in me demands especially at this juncture, that I yield to an honored custom which requires a frank declaration of the principles to be adopted and the policy to be pursued during my official term.

We have assumed, as the great fundamental truth of our political theory, that man is capable of self-government, and that all power emanates from the people. An experience of seventy-one years, under the Constitution of the United States, has demonstrated to all mankind that the people can be entrusted with their own political destinies; and the deliberate expression of their will should furnish the rule of conduct to their representatives in official station. Thus appreciating their liberal capacity for self-government, and alive to the importance of preserving, pure and unsullied as it came from the hands of the Apostles of Liberty, this vital principle, I pledge myself to stand between it and encroachments, whether instigated by hatred or ambition, by fanaticism or folly.

The policy that should regulate the administration of the government of our State was declared by its founders, and is fully established by experience. It is just and fraternal in its aims, liberal in its spirit, and patriotic in its progress. The freedom of speech and of the press, the right of conscience and of private judgment in civil and religious faith, are the high prerogatives to which the American citizen is born. In our social organization the rich and the poor, the high and the low, enjoy these equally, and the constitution and the laws in harmony therewith, protect the rights of all. The intelligence of the people is one of the main pillars of the fabric of our government, and the highest hopes of the patriot for its safety rest on enlightened public morality and virtue. Our system of common schools will ever enlist my earnest solicitude. For its growing wants the most ample provision should be made by the Legislature. I feel that I need not urge this duty. The system has been gaining in strength and usefulness for a quarter of a century, until it has silenced opposition by its beneficent fruits. It has at times languished for want of just appropriations, from changes and amendments of the law, and, perhaps, from inefficiency in its administration; but it has surmounted every difficulty and is now regarded by the enlightened and patriotic of every political faith as

the great bulwark of safety for our free institutions. The manner in which this subject is presented to the Legislature by my immediate predecessor, in his annual message, fully harmonizes with public sentiment; and his recommendation for aid to the Farmers' High School of Pennsylvania meets my most cordial approbation. Invited to the rich prairie lands of the West, where the labor of the husbandman is simple and uniform, when population has filled our valleys, it passes away from our highland soils where scientific culture is required to reward labor by bringing fruitfulness and plenty out of comparative sterility. While individual liberality has done much for an institution that is designed to educate the farmer of the State, the school languishes for want of public aid. An experience of ten years has fully demonstrated that the institution can be made self-sustaining, and it requires no aid from the State, except for the completion of the buildings in accordance with the original design. A liberal appropriation for that purpose would be honorable to the Legislature, and a just recognition of a system of public instruction that is of the highest importance to the State in the development of our wealth, the growth of our population, and the prosperity of our great agricultural interests.

The State having been wisely relieved of the management of the public improvements by their sale, the administration of the government is greatly simplified, its resources are certain and well understood, and the amount of the public debt is definitely ascertained. A rigid economy in all its various departments, and a strict accountability from all its public officers, are expected by our people, and they shall not be disappointed. Now that the debt of the State is in course of steady liquidation by the ordinary means of the Treasury, all unnecessary expenditures of the public money must be firmly resisted, so that the gradual diminution of the indebtedness shall not be interrupted.

To promote the prosperity of the people and the power of the commonwealth by increasing her financial resources, by a liberal recognition of the vast interests of our commerce, by husbanding our means and diminishing the burdens of taxation and debt, will be the highest objects of my ambition, and all the energy of my administration will be directed to the accomplishment of these results.

The pardoning power is one of the most important and delicate powers conferred upon the Chief Magistrate by the constitution, and it should always be exercised with great caution, and never, except on the most conclusive evidence that it is due to the condemned, and that the public security will not be prejudiced by the act.

When such applications are presented to the Executive it is due to society, to the administration of justice, and to all interested, that public notice should be given. By the adoption of such a regulation imposition will be prevented and just efforts will be strengthened.

The association of capital and labor, under acts of incorporation, where the purposes to be accomplished are beyond the reach of individual enterprise, has long been the policy of the State, and has done much to advance the prosperity of the people. Where the means of the citizens are moderate, as they generally are in a new and growing country, and where the concentration of the capital of many is necessary to development and progress, such associations, when judiciously restricted, confer large benefits on the State. The vast resources of Pennsylvania and the variety of her mechanical and other industrial pursuits invite capital and enterprise from abroad, which, on every sound principle of political economy, should be encouraged. Much of the time of the Legislature is consumed by applications for special chartered privileges which might be saved by the enactment of general laws and by such amendment to our general mining and manufacturing law as will remove needless and burdensome restraints, and at the same time afford ample protection to capital and labor, and to the community at large. Our statute books are full of acts of incorporation, conferring special privileges, various as they are numerous, dissimilar in their grants of power, and unequal in their liabilities and restrictions. Well considered and judicious general laws to meet all classes of corporations would remedy the evil, economize time and money, relieve the Legislature from the constant pressure for undue privileges, and be just and equal to all in their administration.

The veto power conferred upon the Executive was given with much hesitation, and not without serious apprehensions as to its abuse, by the framers of our organic law. It is, in my judgment, to be used with the greatest caution, and only when legislation is manifestly inconsiderate, or of more than doubtful constitutionality. The legislators, chosen as they are, directly by the people, in such a manner that a fair expression of their views of the true policy of the government can always be had, give to all well-considered measures of legislation the solemn sanction of the highest power of the State, and it should not be arbitrarily interfered with. While I shall shrink from no duty involved by the sacred trust reposed in me by the people of the commonwealth, I would have all other departments of the government appreciate the full measure of responsibility that devolves upon them.

The position of mutual estrangement in which the different sections of our country have been placed by the precipitate action and violent denunciation of heated partisans, the apprehension of still more serious complications of our political affairs, and the fearful uncertainty of the future, have had the effect of weakening commercial credit and partially interrupting trade, and, as a natural consequence, deranging our exchanges and currency. Yet the elements of general prosperity are everywhere diffused amongst us, and nothing is wanting, but a return of confidence, to enable us to reap the rich rewards of our diversified industry and enterprise. Should the restitution of confidence in business and commercial circles be long delayed, the Legislature, in its wisdom, will, I doubt not, meet the necessities of the crisis in a generous and patriotic spirit.

Thus far our system of government has fully answered the expectations of its founders, and has demonstrated the capacity of the people for self-government. The country has advanced in wealth, knowledge, and power, and secured to all classes of its citizens the blessings of peace, prosperity, and happiness. The workings of our simple and natural political organizations have given direction and energy to individual and associated enterprise, maintained public order, and promoted the welfare of all parts of our vast and expanding country. No one who knows the history of Pennsylvania and understands the opinions and feelings of her people, can justly charge us with hostility to our brethren of other States. We regard them as friends and fellow countrymen, in whose welfare we feel a kindred interest; and we recognize, in their broadest extent, all our constitutional obligations to them. These we are ready and willing to observe generously and fraternally in their letter and spirit with unswerving fidelity.

The election of a President of the United States, according to the forms of the constitution, has recently been made a pretext for disturbing the peace of the country by a deliberate attempt to wrest from the federal government the powers which the people conferred on it when they adopted the constitution. By this movement, the question whether the government of the United States embodies the prerogatives, rights, and powers of sovereignty, or merely represents, for specific purposes, a multitude of independent communities confederated in a league which any one of them may dissolve at will, is now placed directly before the American people. Unhappily this question is not presented in the simple form of political discussion, but complicated with the passions and jealousies of impending or actual conflict.

There is nothing in the life of Mr. Lincoln, nor in any of his acts or declarations before or since his election, to warrant the apprehension that his administration will be unfriendly to the local institutions of any of the States. No sentiments but those of kindness and conciliation have been expressed or entertained by the constitutional majority which elected him; and nothing has occurred to justify the excitement which seems to have blinded the judgment of a part of the people, and is precipitating them into revolution.

The supremacy of the national government has been so fully admitted, and so long cherished by the people of Pennsylvania, and so completely has the conviction of its nationality and sovereignty directed their political action that they are surprised at the pertinacity with which a portion of the people elsewhere maintain the opposite view. The traditions of the past, the recorded teachings of the Fathers of the Republic, the security of their freedom and prosperity, and their hopes for the future, are all in harmony with an unflinching allegiance to the national union, the maintenance of the constitution and the enforcement of the laws. They have faithfully adhered to the compromises of our great national compact, and willingly recognized the peculiar institutions and rights of property of the people of other States. Every true Pennsylvanian admits that his first civil and political duty is to the general government, and he frankly acknowledges his obligation to protect the constitutional rights of all who live under its authority and enjoy its blessings.

I have already taken occasion to state publicly, and I now repeat, that if we have any laws upon our statute books which infringe upon the rights of the people of any of the States, or contravene any law of the federal government, or obstruct its execution, they ought to be repealed. We ought not to hesitate to exhibit to other States that may have enacted laws interfering with the rights or obstructive of the remedies which belong constitutionally to all American citizens, an example of magnanimity and of implicit obedience to the paramount law, and by a prompt repeal of every statute that may, even by implication, be liable to reasonable objection, do our part to remove every just cause of dissatisfaction with our legislation.

Pennsylvania has never faltered in her recognition of all the duties imposed upon her by the national compact, and she will, by every act consistent with her devotion to the interests of her own people, promote fraternity and peace, and a liberal comity between the States. Her convictions on the vital questions which have agitated

the public mind are well understood at home, and should not be misunderstood abroad. Her verdicts have been as uniform as they have been decisive, in favor of the dignity, the prosperity and the progress of her free industry, and support of the principles of liberty on which the government is founded, and menace or rebellion cannot reverse them. They have passed into history as the deliberate judgment of her people, expressed in a peaceful, fraternal, and constitutional manner; and when they shall have been administered in the government, as soon they will be, the madness that now rules the hour will subside, as their patriotic, faithful, and national aims bring ample protection and peaceful progress to all sections of the Republic.

In the grave questions which now agitate the country no State has a more profound concern than Pennsylvania. Occupying a geographical position between the North and the South, the East and the West, with the great avenues of trade and travel passing through her borders, carrying on an extensive commerce with her neighbors, in the vast and varied productions of her soil, her mines, and her manufacturing industry, and bound to them by the ties of kindred and social intercourse, the question of disunion involves momentous consequences to her people. The second of the thirty-three States in population, and the first in material resources, it is due both to ourselves and to the other States that the position and sentiments of Pennsylvania on the question should be distinctly understood.

All the elements of wealth and greatness have been spread over the State by a kind Providence with profuse liberality. Our temperate climate, productive soil, and inexhaustible mineral wealth have stimulated the industry of our people and improved the skill of our mechanics. To develop, enlarge, and protect the interests which grow out of pure natural advantages, have become cardinal principles of political economy in Pennsylvania, and the opinion everywhere prevails among our people that development, progress, and the law depend on educated and requited labor; and that labor and the interests sustained by it should be adequately protected against foreign competition. The people of Pennsylvania have always favored that policy which aims to elevate and foster the industry of the country in the collection of revenue for the support of the general government, and, whenever they have had the opportunity in a fair election, they have vindicated that policy at the ballot-box. When their trade was prostrated and their industry paralyzed by the legislation of the general government, which favored adverse interests, they waited patiently for the return of

another opportunity to declare the public will in a constitutional manner. In the late election of President of the United States the principle of protection was one of the prominent issues. With the proceedings of Congress at its last session fresh in their memories, a large majority of the people of Pennsylvania enrolled themselves in organization, which, in its declaration of principles, promised, if successful, to be faithful to their suffering interests and languishing industry. Protection to labor was one of the great principles of its platform; it was inscribed on its banners; it was advocated by its public journals; and throughout the canvass it was a leading text of the orators of the successful party.

This is a propitious moment to declare that while the people of Pennsylvania were not indifferent to other vital issues of the canvass, they were demanding justice for themselves in the recent election, and had no design to interfere with or abridge the rights of the people of other States. The growth of our State had been retarded by the abrogation of the principle of protection from the revenue laws of the national government; bankruptcy had crushed the energies of many of our most enterprising citizens; but no voice of disloyalty or treason was heard, nor was an arm raised to offer violence to the sacred fabric of our national union. Conscious of their rights and their power, the people looked to the ballot-box alone as the legal remedy for existing evils.

In the present unhappy condition of the country, it will be our duty to unite with the people of the States which remain loyal to the Union, in any just and honorable measures of conciliation and fraternal kindness. Let us invite them to join us in the fulfillment of all our obligations under the federal constitution and laws. Then we can cordially unite with them in claiming like obedience from those States which have renounced their allegiance. If the loyal States are just and moderate, without any sacrifice of right or self-respect, the threatened danger may be averted.

Ours is a national government. It has within the sphere of its action all the attributes of sovereignty, and among these are the right and duty of self-preservation. It is based upon a compact to which all the people of the United States are parties. It is the result of mutual concessions, which were made for the purpose of securing reciprocal benefits. It acts directly on the people, and they owe it a personal allegiance. No part of the people, no State nor combination of States, can voluntarily secede from the Union, nor absolve themselves from their obligations to it. To permit a State to withdraw at pleasure from the Union, without the consent of the rest, is to confess that our government is a failure. Pennsylvania

can never acquiesce in such a conspiracy, nor assent to a doctrine which involves the destruction of the government. If the government is to exist, all the requirements of the constitution must be obeyed; and it must have power adequate to the enforcement of the supreme law of the land in every State. It is the first duty of the national authorities to stay the progress of anarchy and enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania, with a united people, will give them an honest, faithful, and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the national union at every hazard.

The constitution, which was originally framed to promote the welfare of thirteen States and four millions of people, in less than three-quarters of a century has embraced thirty-three States and thirty millions of inhabitants. Our territory has been extended over new climates, including people with new interests and wants, and the government has protected them all. Everything requisite to the perpetuity of the Union and its expanding power would seem to have been foreseen and provided for by the wisdom and sagacity of the framers of the constitution.

It is all we desire or hope for, and all that our fellow countrymen who complain, can reasonably demand. It provides that amendments may be proposed by Congress; and, whenever the necessity to amend shall occur, the people of Pennsylvania will give to the amendments which Congress may propose, the careful and deliberate consideration which their importance may demand. Change is not always progress, and a people who have lived so long and enjoyed so much prosperity, who have so many sacred memories of the past, and such rich legacies to transmit to the future, should deliberate long and seriously before they attempt to alter any of the fundamental principles of the great charter of our liberties.

I assume the duties of this high office at the most trying period of our national history. The public mind is agitated by fears, suspicions, and jealousies. Serious apprehensions of the future pervade the people. A preconcerted and organized effort has been made to disturb the stability of government, dissolve the union of the States, and mar the symmetry and order of the noblest political structure ever devised and enacted by human wisdom. It shall be my earnest endeavor to justify the confidence which you have reposed in me, and to deserve your approbation. With a consciousness of the rectitude of my intentions, with no resentments to cherish, no enmities to avenge, no wish but the public good to gratify, and with a profound sense of the solemnity of my position, I humbly invoke the assistance of our Heavenly Father, in whom alone is my dependence, that His strength may sustain and His wisdom guide me.

With His ivine aid I shall apply myself faithfully and fearlessly to my responsible duties, and abide the judgment of a generous people.

Invoking the blessing of the God of our fathers upon our State and nation, it shall be the highest object of my ambition to contribute to the glory of the commonwealth, maintain the civil and religious privileges of the people, and promote the union, prosperity, and happiness of the country.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania was in hearty accord with the suggestions made by the Governor. Conservative in a great degree, he was firm and decided as to the position which he and the State of Pennsylvania would take in the matter of secession. Notwithstanding all the efforts made for a satisfactory and peaceful adjustment of the controversy by the conservative people of the free States, the leaders of rebellion were determined in their work of disrupting the Union. From this time forward all eyes were turned to the man who was to take the helm of the nation and guide the good old ship through the breakers and the disastrous storm which threatened. The inauguration of President Lincoln was but six weeks off. The Pennsylvania Legislature, strongly imbued with a sense of their appreciation of Abraham Lincoln, cordially invited him to accept the hospitality of the State, on his journey to the federal capital. Mr. Lincoln accepted this mark of respect from the Governor and the assembly of the State. Governor Curtin welcomed the President-elect, in language as firm as it was patriotic. He said in part:

“Sir, this day by act of our Legislature, we unfurled from the dome of the capitol the flag of our country, carried there in the arms of men who defended the country when defence was needed. I assure you, sir, there is no star or stripe erased, and on its azure field

there blazon forth thirty-four stars, the number in the bright constellation of States over which you are called by the people, in a fair election, to preside. We trust, sir, that in the discharge of your high office you may reconcile the unhappy differences now existing, as they have heretofore been reconciled. But, sir, when conciliation has failed, read our history, study our traditions. Here are the people who will defend you, the constitution, the laws and the integrity of this Union. Our great law-giver, the founder, established this government of a free people in deeds of peace. We are a peaceful, laborious people. We believe that civilization, progress and Christianity are advanced by the protection of free and paid labor."

Mr. Lincoln's reply has passed into history, and the events of that day and his secret passage from Harrisburg to Washington City through the night which followed, have also been recorded.

Events continued ominous, until at last the assault upon Fort Sumter opened the civil war.

Early in the session of the Legislature a project was started appropriating a large sum of money for the purpose of arming the militia of the State. This was quietly held in abeyance until after consultation with President Lincoln on the eighth of April. The day following Governor Curtin made the urgent request to the Legislature to make important provision for arming and equipping the militia. "We cannot be insensible," says the Governor, "to the fact that serious jealousies and divisions distract the public mind, and that any division of this Union endangers the peace of the country, if not the safety of the government itself. Military organizations of a formidable character and which seem

not to be demanded for any existing exigency, have been formed in certain of the States. On whatever pretext these extraordinary military preparations have been made for any purpose contemplating the resistance to the enforcement of the laws, they will meet with no sympathy and encouragement by the people of this commonwealth. Pennsylvania yields to no State in her respect for, and her willingness to protect, all guaranteed constitutional rights independent of her sister States, nor in fidelity to the constitution and the Union, whose unexampled benefits have been showered upon herself and them.

“The government of this great State was established by its illustrious founder in days of peace. Our people have been trained and disciplined in those acts which led to the promotion of their own moral and physical development, and, with the highest regard for the rights of others have always cultivated pleasant relations with the people of other States, devoted to the constitution and the Union, and herself recognizing the state of concession and compromise which underlies the foundation of the government, Pennsylvania offers no encouragement and takes no counsel in the nature of menace. Her desire is for peace, and her object the preservation of the rights of citizens, the free sovereignty of the States and the supremacy of law and order.”

Promptly the General Assembly acted upon the matter and passed the act appropriating the sum of half a million dollars to carry out the objects of the law. In three days that important war measure had become a law. In addition thereto, the Legislature, on motion of a Democratic member of the House, offered resolutions which were unanimously adopted, pledging “the support of

this commonwealth to any amount and to any extent, to the government of the United States to enforce its laws, protect its property, and preserve its integrity.”

The Legislature adjourned on the eighteenth of April, but events having become so momentous, the Governor, two days afterward, issued his proclamation for an extraordinary session of the Legislature to meet on the thirtieth of that month. In his message to the Legislature convened in extra session, the Governor after quoting from his inaugural, thus refers to the rebellious movements of the Southern States, as follows :

“The time has passed for temporizing or forbearing with this rebellion, the most causeless in history. The North has not invaded, nor has she sought to invade a single guaranteed right of the South. On the contrary, all political parties, all administrations, have fully recognized the binding force of their provisions of the great compact between the States, and regardless of our views of State policy, our people have respected them. To predicate a rebellion therefore upon any alleged wrong inflicted, or sought to be inflicted, upon the South, is to offer falsehood as an excuse for treason. So the civilized world and history judge this mad effort to overthrow the most beneficent structure of human government ever devised by man.

“The leaders of the rebellion of the Cotton States which has resulted in the establishment of a provisional organization, assume to discharge all the functions of governmental power, have mistaken the forbearance of the general government, and have insanely looked to a united South and a divided North to give success to the movement which has led to the taking up of arms, the bombardment of our forts, the plunder of our mints ;

have invited piracy upon our commerce, and now threaten the national capital. This must now be met with force of arms, and by establishing the government upon a firm basis by asserting its entire supremacy to repossess the forts and other government property so held, to insure personal freedom to the people. The people of the loyal States demand as with one voice, and will contend for as with one heart, and a quarter of a million of Pennsylvania's sons will answer the call to arms if need be, to arrest us from a reign of anarchy and plunder, and secure for themselves and their children, the perpetuity of this government and its beneficent institutions."

Entertaining these views and anticipating that more troops would be required than the number originally called for, Governor Curtin had continued to receive companies until he had raised twenty-three regiments in Pennsylvania, all of which had been mustered into the service of the United States, and also two additional regiments had been sent forward in response to the demands of the general government; but he recommended the immediate arming of at least fifteen regiments of cavalry and infantry, exclusive of those already called into the service of the Union, as there were already ample warnings of the necessity of any sudden exigency that might arise. In conclusion, he placed the honor of the State in their hands.

The brief history of those few weeks which intervened between the fall of Fort Sumter and the convening of the Legislature, furnished striking evidence of the loyalty and patriotism of Pennsylvania. The original call of the President for sixteen regiments was not only responded to with hearty alacrity, but, as just stated, the Governor in anticipation of a further requisition,

continued to receive companies until twenty-five regiments of infantry and two of cavalry had been forwarded to the federal capital, and the Governor did not exaggerate when he estimated that Pennsylvania alone could furnish a quarter of a million of men in the defence of the Union and the constitution. Besides men there was no lack of money. The banks had unlocked their vaults, and had volunteered any amount of money for the honor of the State and the defence of the nation.

The General Assembly confined itself exclusively to the recommendations and suggestions made by the executive. Provision was made for arming and equipping the troops, raising a war loan, and other important measures. That body acted promptly and with a unanimity never known of in legislation.

The organization of that famous body of men, the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, and its hasty call to the front, after the disastrous battle of Bull Run in July, 1861, have already been referred to. At this period (August, 1861), recruiting officers from different localities outside of the State were raising troops in Pennsylvania, to be credited to other States. The correspondence between the Governor, the President and the Secretary of War at this time concerning this matter is of very great import. Its length, however, precludes insertion in this biography. It finally necessitated Governor Curtin to issue a proclamation prohibiting all persons from raising men in this State to be furnished for others, and the Governor's firm and decided protest had the effect of putting a stop to this innovation of State rights.

On the tenth of October, 1861, the Governor telegraphed the Secretary of War that eighty regiments had gone to

the front, or were then going forward, which was an excess over all requisitions.

About this period, Governor Curtin appointed a commission for the protection of the interests of the volunteer soldier, so as to afford him every facility for remitting a portion, or the whole, of his pay to his family or such other persons in whose support and comfort he was interested. This was to protect him from any imposition from speculators who infested Washington City and the neighborhood of camps for the purpose of robbing the soldiers when they failed to rob the government. This, to many, may seem to be of little account, but few have any idea of the good effect it had and how much it was appreciated by the men at the front. A circular was issued by the commissioners addressed to Pennsylvanians, and the Governor in the name of the commonwealth approved of the plain and practical plan which they had adopted in the performance of their patriotic mission to the Pennsylvania volunteers on the line of the Potomac.

Of the events that followed during the year, whether in the field or at home, it is not our province to allude in general terms, reserving for Governor Curtin in his annual message to the Legislature of 1862, to summarize the work of the first year of the rebellion.

At that period the Governor stated that there were in active service 93,577 men; preparing for service, 16,038; making a total of Pennsylvania's contribution to the civil war of 109,615, exclusive of 20,175 three-months men then disbanded. In conclusion, after reviewing the financial affairs of the commonwealth, requisitions made upon the State for the war, as well as the payment of a direct tax, he closes his message in these words:

“ Pennsylvania has made great efforts to support the government, she has given more, and better clothed, and better equipped men than any other State, and has thus far exceeded her quota of the military levies. The sons of our best citizens, young men of education and means, fill the ranks of her volunteer regiments. Their gallant conduct, whenever an opportunity has been afforded to them, has done honor to the commonwealth. The universal movement among our people signifies that they are loyal to the government established by their fathers and are determined to quell the present insurrection and preserve the Union, and that they will not tolerate any plan for either the dissolution or reconstruction of it.”

The message of Governor Curtin was a model in proportion, statement, detail and sentiment. It was divested of all rhetoric, exaggerations and gasconade. It was simple, terse and explicit. Its figures were indisputable, its facts part of the history of the times, and its sentiment of that imposing character that at once impresses the reader with the sublimity of their presence and the moral force of their power.

At this juncture of affairs, Governor Curtin was not unmindful of the men who had left the State and were in the service of the nation, but at once devoted himself to the laudable purpose of promoting by every possible means, the comfort, discipline, and the efficiency of the volunteer soldiers from Pennsylvania. In February, 1862, he left the State for the federal capital to consult with the departments there, and also to visit the various camps, that he might be able personally to inspect the troops, ascertain their sanitary condition, and with all the means in his power to contribute to their just and honorable wants,

After the capture of Fort Donelson, the Governor issued an order on the nineteenth of February, directing all military organizations, on the twenty-second of February following, being the anniversary of the birth of the "Father of his Country," to celebrate the success of our arms and the loyalty and the bravery of our soldiers and sailors.

During the early spring of 1862, the ceremonies attending the presentation of the flags by the State of Pennsylvania, to the different regiments in the front, and those departing for the field, were considered the most imposing events that transpired in connection with the patriotic army which Pennsylvania had given to the Union. Eloquent, patriotic, full of meaning and sublime in diction, no more appreciative addresses were ever made to the citizen-soldiery of any country. The labors of the governors of the loyal States at that time differed somewhat from the stirring and exciting character which distinguished their efforts the year prior. Then they were energetic in summoning men to enrollment, equipping companies and organizing regiments; now the patriotic work was in maintaining these organizations. That labor was far the most onerous and harassing. The people of Pennsylvania neither then nor at this not great distance of time can scarcely form an idea of the labor and thought which pressed on the humblest man in the department of the State capital, nor can they fairly estimate the immense labor which devolved upon Governor Curtin. He had at this period more than one hundred thousand soldiers in his personal care—he was daily charged with their health. Frequently appealed to on the subject of their discipline and to arbitrate upon their claims of promotion in line and by merit,

was one of the least labors and responsibilities forced upon him at that time. He had actually the sick to succor, the wounded to heal, and the dead to bury, and so it continued until the war of the rebellion closed. In the discharge of that duty he was no less successful than he was when he hurried his legions across the Susquehanna, and marched them so enthusiastically to the defence of the national capital. The other executives of the loyal States deserved the most substantial honors of their respective States and people, but first among them all as the champion of the right and the emulator of the merciful and humane, stood Governor Andrew Gregg Curtin, and Pennsylvania remembered him and will continue to do so while she remembers her struggles and triumphs for the Union.

Early measures were taken to insure the prompt removal within the State of every man unfit for active duty. The result was that hospitals were erected and fitted up in all quarters of the commonwealth, and in them the wounded or sick soldier received every attention that it was possible to give.

In the latter part of May, 1862, the President again made a requisition, calling on Governor Curtin for additional regiments. At this period there was threatened danger of an invasion of the State, by a portion of the rebel army, and the excitement throughout the commonwealth was intense. The response to the call for more troops was hearty, but the excitement was soon allayed by the proclamation of the President countermanding the order for the enlistment of three-months volunteers. The enthusiasm with which the call for troops was first received manifested itself by direction of the Governor, in the immediate organization of the

entire militia force of the commonwealth. The people assembled at every recruiting station ; they formed themselves into companies, battalions, and regiments, burning with a desire to meet the enemy in the field and drive the rebels back into Virginia. The sublimity of the scene was only equaled when, a few months later, an opportunity was again offered by which the people proved themselves worthy of their country and of their State.

On the fourth of July the President issued a proclamation followed by that of the executive of the State, asking for more men to assist in suppressing the rebellion. This was due to the fact that our regiments in the field were to be recruited to their original strength, while in addition new regiments were to be formed. Pennsylvania had hitherto done her duty to the country ; yet, again her freemen were called upon in her defence, that the blood of her sons now fallen might not have been shed in vain, and that there might be handed down to posterity the blessing of union and civil and political liberty which was derived from the fathers of the republic. "Our noble commonwealth," said the Governor, "has never faltered, and must stand firm now when her honor and everything that is dear to her are at stake." A few days later the President again made a requisition in case of great emergency for twenty-one new regiments. These were designated as the nine-months men. "The present emergency," said the Governor, "is well understood. No patriot will pause now to investigate its causes ; we must look to the future. Everything that is dear to us is at stake. I look with confidence to the freemen of Pennsylvania ; you have to save your firesides and your homes. I call upon the inhabitants of the

counties, its boroughs and townships throughout our borders to meet and take active measures for furnishing the quota of the State."

On the seventh of July, 1862, another call was made by the President for three hundred thousand volunteers. Pennsylvania had already supplied nearly one hundred and ten thousand men, yet her people promptly bestirred themselves to respond to this new requirement. Although it was believed that no bounties would be necessary to induce the men of Pennsylvania to enter the service of their country on such an occasion, yet as some of the neighboring States offered large bounties, it was thought not right to expose its citizens to the temptations thus afforded to them to enlist in regiments of other States. There being no appropriation for the payment of bounties, Governor Curtin could not, of course, direct them to be paid out of the treasury, and it was evident to call the Legislature together and wait for the negotiation of any loan which might be authorized for the purpose, would be attended by injurious delay. Under these circumstances he confidently appealed by proclamation to a people who had never faltered in the performance of any duty of patriotism, calling on them to raise in their several counties, the sums necessary to insure their proportion of the quota of the State. This appeal was effectually answered. Public meetings were held, and liberal amounts subscribed by individuals. In the city of Philadelphia, besides a very large fund thus raised, the municipal authorities contributed heavily from the common treasury, and in several counties the county commissioners, generally under the guarantee of a few of their eminent citizens, devoted county funds to the same purpose.

Subsequently, in his message to the assembly the Governor recommended that these proceedings be legalized, and submitted to the wisdom of the Legislature the question of what legislation would be just and proper on the whole subject that the burden of this patriotic effort might fall equally on all classes of people throughout the State.

In not summoning the Legislature at this crisis of affairs, the Governor paid a compliment to the public spirit of the people and a confidence which was not misplaced. In obedience to the proclamation, the quota was rapidly filled and, to the honor of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, then the great corporation of the State, \$50,000 was contributed, to be applied to the payment of the bounty to soldiers enlisting in the service of the government, and although not employed for that purpose, we will soon see to what great benefaction it led.

In all sections of the State great war meetings were held. At many of these Governor Curtin was the prominent figure. At Pittsburg he made one of his most patriotic addresses. In concluding his magnificent oration there, the Governor spoke as follows :

“ Since the beginning of this rebellion, these traitors, whose souls are blistered with perjury, have kept their emissaries in foreign lands for the purpose of securing foreign intervention in this great struggle. When one of your commodores captured two of their hired agents they were surrendered to a haughty power. Now, if any foreign nation desires to intervene it is too late. The indignation of this country is thoroughly aroused, and if either England or France, or both, desire a contest with us, they will find the energy, the courage, and the

stubborn will of our people prepared for them. Let the English lion show his teeth now. Our sea-coast is well protected with iron ships, and we are ready and can suppress this insurrection, and punish foreign insolence besides. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers have already gone forth to do battle for you, thousands of them have died for you, and thousands more are ready when it is necessary. What have you done for them? They have sacrificed all for you; what have you sacrificed for them? Have you done anything to support those legions? Have you made any effort to add to their comfort or to provide for those they have left behind? This is a subject which requires your serious consideration. You are at home and feel none of the deprivations which they suffer. You are surrounded with plenty, and ought you not to have in mind those brave men who bare their breasts to the bayonet of the enemy, and generously contribute something from your store in their behalf? This is not the time to hold back. Hanging tremblingly in the balance is death to the Republic or the suppression of the rebellion. In the one case all these States will be divided into small nations, and will become insignificant in the eyes of the world. In the other, we will prove this the strongest government ever conceived by the mind of man, and our children and our children's children, for generations to come, will enjoy all the blessings which our fathers bequeathed to us."

This address like others had its effect on the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people. At that meeting over 30,000 people were assembled determined that there should be no drafting, as freemen always volunteer. Large sums of money were liberally contributed, and as

in other portions of the commonwealth regiments were speedily organized and the quota of Pennsylvania filled. By the twentieth of the same month (August) Pennsylvania had more men in the field as her quota of the last call of the President for 300,000 men, than New York and all the Eastern States combined.

Following the completion of this quota, came orders from the War Department, calling for 300,000 additional men by enrollment and draft. In the details of the draft and the preparations therefor, a work at once fraught with care and labor and importance, Governor Curtin was kindly aided by Colonel A. K. McClure. The organization of the forces required great care and attention, much depending upon the manner in which it was accomplished and sent into the field, as to whether it would be of the service designed when the War Department made an order for a draft. The material for an immense force was found to exist in every locality of the State and these localities were to be credited with the troops already contributed with the distinctive difference that the number enlisted in the regular service could not be credited as an off-set to what might be required in the draft. To attend to such of the details as would have fallen upon the Executive, Colonel McClure patriotically volunteered to assist, and it is a historic fact that he discharged the duties faithfully.

Early in September following, the rebel army crossed the Potomac into Maryland, with the design of invading Pennsylvania. On the fourth of that month Governor Curtin called upon the people by proclamation to organize into companies and hold themselves in readiness to be ordered into actual service for the defence of

the State; and on the eleventh of that month, under authority of the President, he issued orders for 50,000 volunteer militia, to rendezvous at Harrisburg. This call was promptly responded to, and a large body was sent forward to the Cumberland Valley and its vicinity. The first part of this force, consisting of one regiment and eight companies of infantry, moved from Harrisburg on the night of the twelfth of September, and were followed by other regiments as rapidly as they could be organized and transportation provided.

The command of the whole force was undertaken by Brigadier General John F. Reynolds, who left his corps in the Army of the Potomac at the urgent request of the Governor, and hurried to the defence of his native State, for which he is entitled to the thanks of the commonwealth. Fifteen thousand of the volunteer militia were pushed forward to Hagerstown and Boonsboro, in the State of Maryland; ten thousand were posted in the vicinity of Greencastle and Chambersburg; and about twenty-five thousand were at Harrisburg, on their way to Harrisburg, or in readiness and waiting for transportation to proceed thither. One regiment, at the request of General Halleck, was sent to protect Du Pont's powder mills in the State of Delaware. On the twenty-fourth of September the Volunteer Militia were discharged from service, having by their spirited demonstration greatly aided in preventing the intended invasion of this State by the rebels, and in compelling their sudden evacuation of the portion of Maryland which they had polluted. It may be here stated that the Governor in his call recommended that in order to have further opportunity for drilling, all places of business be closed daily at three p. m., so that persons

employed therein might after that hour be at liberty to attend to their military duties. Within three days later, from the political centre of the commonwealth to its remotest border, from the Delaware to Lake Erie, from the Allegheny to the Susquehanna, a mighty and unanimous response was made to the appeal of the gallant and intrepid chief magistrate. At that moment there were 100,000 men ready to march at a day's notice to repel invasion or support their brethren in the field. In one week's time the largest part of these men were better drilled than any of the armies with which Washington fought the battles of the Revolution. Six days later the Governor called for troops for an emergency, and it is wonderful with what alacrity organizations were effected, and twenty-five regiments were sent to the borders of the State for its protection, but the disastrous defeat of the rebel army at Antietam shortened their term of service.

Allusion has already been made concerning the conference of the War Governors at Altoona, in September, 1862. Their address to the President, written by Governor Curtin and Governor Andrew, is so frequently referred to and so little known, that we here give it in detail :

THE ALTOONA ADDRESS.

After nearly one year and a half spent in the contest with an armed and gigantic rebellion against the national government of the United States, the duty and purpose of the loyal States and people continue, and must always remain, as they were at its origin; namely, to restore and perpetuate the authority of this government and the life of the nation, no matter what consequences are involved in our fidelity. Nevertheless, this work of restoring the republic, preserving the institutions of democratic origin, and justifying the hopes and toils of our fathers, shall not fail to be performed; and we pledge, without hesitation, to the President of the United States

the most loyal and cordial support hereafter, as heretofore, in the exercise of the functions of his great office.

We recognize in him, the chief executive magistrate of the nation, the commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, their responsible and constitutional head, whose rightful authority and power, as well as the constitutional powers of Congress, must be vigorously and religiously guarded and preserved, as the condition on which all of our form of government and the constitutional rights and liberties of the people themselves can be saved from the wreck of anarchy, or from the rule of despotism.

In submission to the laws which may have been or which may be duly enacted, and to the lawful orders of the President, co-operating always in our own spheres in the national government, we mean to continue in the most vigorous exercise of all our lawful and proper powers, contending against treason, rebellion, and the public enemies, and whether in public life or private station, supporting the arms of the Union until its cause shall conquer; until final victory shall perch upon our standard, or the rebel foe shall yield a dutiful, rightful and unconditional submission; and impressed in the conviction that an army of reserves ought, until the war shall end, to be constantly kept on foot, to be raised, armed, equipped and trained at home, and ready for emergencies, we respectfully ask the President to call for such a force of volunteers for one year's service of not less than one hundred thousand in the aggregate, the quota of each State to be raised after it shall have filled its quota of the requisitions already made, both for volunteers and militia.

We believe that this would be a measure of military prudence, while it would greatly promote the military education of the people. We hail in the heartfelt gratitude of encouraged hope the proclamation of the President, issued on the twenty-second instant, declaring emancipated from their bondage all persons held to service or labor as slaves in the rebel States whose rebellion shall last until the first day of January next ensuing.

The right of any persons to retain authority to compel any portion of the subjects of the national government to rebel against it, or to maintain its enemies, implies in those who are allowed possession of such authority the right to rebel themselves, and, therefore, the right to establish martial law or military government in a State or territory in rebellion, implies the right and the duty of the government to liberate the minds of all men living therein, by appropriate proclamations and assurances of protection, in order that all who are capable, intellectually and morally, of loyalty and obedience, may not be forced into treason, the willing tools of rebellious traitors.

To have continued indefinitely the most efficient cause, support and stay of the rebellion, would have been in our judgment unjust to the loyal people whose treasure and lives are made a willing sacrifice on the altar of patriotism; would have discriminated against the wife who is compelled to surrender her husband; against the parent who is to surrender his child to the hardships of the camp and the perils of battle. If the rebel masters were permitted to retain their slaves it would have been a final decision against humanity, justice, the rights and dignity of the government, and against a sound and wise national policy.

The decision of the President to strike at the root of the rebellion will lend new vigor to the efforts, and new life and hope to the hearts of the people.

Cordially tendering to the President our respectful assurances of personal and official confidence, we trust and believe that the policy now inaugurated will be crowned with success, will give speedy and triumphant victories over our enemies, and secure to the nation and this people the blessing and favor of Almighty God. We believe that the blood of the heroes who have already fallen, and those who may yet give their lives to their country, will not have been shed in vain.

The splendid valor of our soldiers, their patient endurance, their manly patriotism, and their devotion to duty, demand from us and from all their countrymen the homage of the sincerest gratitude, and the pledge of our constant reinforcement and support. A just regard for these brave men, whom we have contributed to place in the field, and for the importance of the duties which may lawfully pertain to us hereafter, has called us into friendly conference. And now presenting to our national magistrate the conclusions of our deliberations, we devote ourselves to our country's service, and we will surround the President in our constant support, trusting that the fidelity and zeal of the loyal States and people will always assure him that he will be constantly maintained in pursuing with vigor this war for the preservation of the national life and the hopes of humanity.

At the opening of the Legislature of 1863, the Governor rehearsed in full the service of the State in the war, the healthy condition of its finances with other matters, and made various recommendations, one of which related to the offer of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company

of \$50,000 being accepted and applied toward the education and support of the soldiers' orphans. In conclusion, the Governor said: "I cannot close this message without speaking of the unbroken loyalty and spirit of the freemen of Pennsylvania. They feel that on the preservation of the Union and the suppression of the most causeless and wicked rebellion which history records, depend the honor, the interests and the whole future welfare of the commonwealth. They will never tolerate schemes for destroying the government of the United States, or for forming separate confederacies, or any other schemes for creating general confusion and ruin, and aiding and comforting the traitors who are in arms against their country.

"This State has furnished more men for the defence of our institutions, and has lost more by the casualties of war, than any other State. She has given her blood and treasure freely, and is ready to give as much more of both as may be needful. Her people intend that by the blessing of God this rebellion shall be suppressed, and will not be turned from their settled purpose by the wiles of masked enemies or the vacillations of feeble friends. On the contrary, they will—as is their right—insist that competent integrity, earnestness, intellect and vigor shall be employed in the public service to preserve the government and to maintain the unity of the country."

The recommendations of Governor Curtin were fully approved of by the Legislature, and at the close of the session, he sent a message to that body, which is herewith given :

Gentlemen: In taking leave of you at the close of the session I think it proper, under existing circumstances, to go beyond the usual formalities.

The partiality of my fellow citizens placed me in the office which I now hold at a period of great public distraction, which soon culminated in the breaking out of the rebellion which is still raging. The country had so long slumbered in unbroken tranquillity that we had, in this State, almost forgotten the possibility of any violation of our domestic peace. Even our militia laws had been suffered to fall into disuse, and were reduced to a merely permissive organization of a few uniformed volunteer companies in various parts of the State. The whole mind of our people was directed to peaceful and industrial pursuits. Conscious, themselves, of no intention to injure the rights or interests of others, or in any way to violate the constitution under which we had thriven, they were unable to realize the designs of wicked and abandoned men, even after they had been publicly and boastingly proclaimed.

Although for many months war had been actually levied against the United States in South Carolina and elsewhere, it is a fact that the people of this commonwealth were first startled into a sense of the common danger by the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The Legislature was then in session, and immediately made such provision as was at the moment deemed necessary; but, shortly after its adjournment, events having rapidly advanced, and the capital of the country being in apparent danger, I deemed it necessary to convene it again early in May, 1861, to adopt measures for placing the State on a footing adequate to the emergency. This was promptly and cheerfully done. Five hundred thousand dollars had been appropriated at the regular session for military purposes, and to that sum was added the authority to borrow three millions of dollars. This loan, notwithstanding the depressed condition of the finances of the country and the alarm and distrust then prevailing, was promptly taken by our own citizens at par; and, at the suggestion of the Executive, laws were passed for organizing our military forces, and especially for immediately raising and supporting at the expense of the State a body of fifteen thousand men, called the Reserve Corps, to be ready for immediate service when required.

The government of the United States had called out 75,000 thousand militia to serve for three months, of which the quota of Pennsylvania was immediately furnished.

The Reserve Corps was raised, equipped and disciplined by the State, and contributed largely under Providence in saving Washington after the first disaster at Bull Run; and from that time we continued to add regiment after regiment, as the service of the country required.

From the first movement to the present hour, the loyalty and

indomitable spirit of the freemen of Pennsylvania have been exhibited in every way and upon every occasion; they have flocked to the standard of their country in her hour of peril, and have borne it victoriously on battlefields from Maryland, Virginia and Kentucky to the far South and Southwest; they have never faltered for a moment. It has been my pride to occupy a position which enabled me to become familiar with all their patriotism and self-devotion, and to guide their efforts. Posterity will do them full justice.

Every requisition of the general government has been promptly fulfilled, all legislation in support of the cause has been enacted without delay, and Pennsylvania is entitled to be named first amongst the States that have been throughout unflinching in their determination to subdue the sacrilegious wretches who are endeavoring to destroy the last temple of liberty.

The State has not been insensible to the sacrifices which her sons have made; no effort has been spared by her authorities to secure their comfort and welfare. Under legislative provisions to that effect, her sick and wounded have been followed and cared for and, when practicable, brought home to be nursed by their friends, and the bodies of the slain, when possible, have been returned for burial in the soil of the State. The contributions of her citizens in supplies of luxuries and comforts for all her volunteers have been almost boundless, and nothing has been omitted that could encourage and stimulate them in the performance of their holy duty. They have felt upon every march and in every camp, however desolate their immediate surroundings, that the eyes and hearts of the loved ones at home were upon and with them. The result is, that Pennsylvania is actually in a position on which it is my duty to congratulate you, as her representative.

Notwithstanding the immense drain of her population, her industry is thriving at home, and so far as it may not be hurt by causes over which she has no control, must continue to prosper; her finances were never in a more healthy condition, her people were never in better heart.

That the labors, anxieties, and responsibilities of her Executive have been great and harassing, I need not say. I have given to them my nights and days, with, I trust, a single eye to the public welfare. I claim no special merit in this. I would have been unworthy to be called a man had I done otherwise. If I am proud of the result, it is that I am proud of the people who have effected it.

To be called a freeman of Pennsylvania is, henceforth, to have a title of honor wherever loyalty, patriotism, and the martial virtues are cherished. It is to be observed, moreover, that the labors

which I have necessarily undergone have already impaired my health. I should have serious cause to apprehend that a much longer continuance of them might so break it down as to render me unable to fulfill the duties of my position.

It is to be added that, as the approaching season will probably be the most eventful period in the history of the country, I will be able with more effect to discharge my duties if I avoid being made the centre of an active political struggle. Under these circumstances it has pleased the President of the United States to tender me a high position at the expiration of my present term of office, and I have not felt myself at liberty to do otherwise than accept this offer. As I shall, for all these reasons, retire from office at the close of my present term, I have thought this a not inappropriate mode of announcing that fact.

In taking leave of you, I may be permitted to say, that as governor of the commonwealth, I have given, as was my duty, and shall continue to give, an active and earnest support to the government of the United States in its efforts to suppress the existing rebellion. As a private citizen I shall continue heartily to uphold the President and his administration as the only means by which that result can be attained, or, in other words, the country can be saved. I give this as my deliberate opinion, and shall openly, candidly, and zealously act in accordance with it.

Of the warm-hearted friends to whom I owe so much, and of the people of the commonwealth who, regardless of party, have never tired of cheering my toils and anxieties by tokens of their generous confidence and approval, I cannot speak with composure. I can do no more than express to them the deepest, truest, and most heart-felt gratitude.

Hoping that you may safely return to your homes and your families after your public labors, and with best wishes for your individual welfare and happiness, I now bid you farewell.

This seemingly "farewell address" was received not only throughout the State but through the loyal North with sincere regrets. Governor Curtin's work had not yet been finished. The rebellion continued and the people of the commonwealth demanded that he remain in the service, determined that they would nominate him and elect him whether he were willing or not. Never had the cares of State fallen as heavy upon any

man as those on Governor Curtin, but the loyal people had confidence in him and demanded his re-election. Nominate him they did; yet owing to his ill-health as well as the urgent demands made upon him in his official life, he reluctantly accepted it. He made a canvass of such brilliancy and success that the old defenders remember it with appreciative veneration. During the summer of 1863 came on the threatened invasion of Pennsylvania, which culminated in that decisive battle of the war—Gettysburg. Governor Curtin at once took active measures to carry forward troops, and in several sections of the State made personal appeals to the people. In the city of Philadelphia, after stating that he would not magnify the dangers nor anticipate the defeat of the Union army, he said: "If Meade is successful the tide of war will turn for this great and beneficent government; if General Meade is defeated, it will turn upon us; and my fellow citizens, while a man of Pennsylvania is absent from his home and deprived of his property, you have no right to sleep until he is restored with all his rights. And it is pleasant for me to announce that the call has been responded to by the people of Pennsylvania all over the State, in a manner which is beyond my official expectation. From the valleys and the mountains, and from the public works, the true and loyal Pennsylvanians are on their way to the different rendezvous, and will soon be on their way to protect you. I ask for 7800 men from Philadelphia to fill up the army of 60,000 Pennsylvanians. How soon am I to get them? Do not measure the time by hours or days. Let us not forget as Pennsylvanians that in this great struggle the rebels have struck at this State, because she is loyal to the national government.

While there is one sentence of the constitution remaining and one attribute of power, I will stand by you as your governor and will expect the same of you. They destroy the property of our people, turn our citizens fugitive from their homes, because they strike at our national government. Let Pennsylvania stand up for our nationality and the great cause in which twenty millions are interested with them. Let us show that we are true to our honor and protect ourselves. Five counties of our State are invaded and in the hands of rebels, five counties are overrun, and the soil of Pennsylvania is poisoned by the tread of rebel hordes. My God! Can Pennsylvanians sleep when Pennsylvanians are driven from their homes? Let us not sleep until not a rebel tread shall poison the soil of Pennsylvania."

On the fifteenth of June Governor Curtin issued an appeal to all the citizens of Pennsylvania, adjuring them that all who loved liberty and were mindful of the history and traditions of their Revolutionary fathers, and who felt that it was a sacred duty to create and maintain the free institutions of the country, who hated treason and who were willing to defend their homes and their firesides, to rise in their might and rush to the rescue of their country. He then, therefore, called upon all the people of Pennsylvania capable of bearing arms to enroll themselves in military organizations and encouraged all others to give aid and assistance to the efforts which were then being put forth for the protection of the State and the salvation of our common country.

The events which followed, culminating in the battle of Gettysburg, form a most important chapter in that momentous era in the history of our country,—the War of the Rebellion.

Owing to the great opposition in enforcing the draft in certain sections of Pennsylvania, the United States Government, through the Secretary of War, was determined to use the militia called into service. To this the Governor rightly objected, and urgently requested that they be immediately discharged and returned to their homes. The authorities at Washington gave Governor Curtin no satisfaction, and as the President had declared that all necessity for such military service had passed, the Governor wrote to General Couch, commander of the department of the Susquehanna, in which he stated that the military forces called from the body of the people of Pennsylvania, and placed under his command, were designated to resist an invasion of the State, that they were mustered into service for that emergency, and as the emergency had passed, they were, therefore, expected to be returned to their homes. The militia were not enlisted for any other purpose and had a right to their discharge if they demanded it. The government of the United States equipped and subsisted them while in the service, but declined to pay the men, and there being no fund for that purpose in Pennsylvania, and as the Legislature was not in session, the Governor procured funds from the banks of the commonwealth to pay the militia while in the service to which they were called, but he declined to use the money thus advanced to pay them for any other service. The result was that the emergency troops were immediately sent to their homes.

Immediately after the battle of Gettysburg, by direction of the Governor, a commission was appointed to secure a proper burial ground for the dead heroes, many of whom were then only partially buried on that field of battle. Assuming the responsibility, Governor Curtin

secured by contract the purchase of a lot on Cemetery Hill, and the dead were removed thither. Under date of thirteenth of August, he caused to be sent forth a circular letter to the governors of the loyal States, conveying a plan proposed for carrying out the project and soliciting their co-operation. His suggestions were as follows: The State of Pennsylvania to purchase the ground, about twelve acres on the battlefield, near the present Gettysburg Cemetery, and take the title in fee and the ground to be devoted in perpetuity to the object. . . . All the bodies of the soldiers who fell in defence of the Union to be taken up from the battlefield without unnecessary delay and deposited in the cemetery, those that can be designated by name to be marked by a small headstone with a number upon it, and the others in a common grave to be marked by some appropriate stone. A record to be kept of the names indicated by the numbers on the stone. The dead of each State where known, to be buried by themselves in a particular lot set aside for the State, the whole expense of this to be carried to a common account. . . . The ground to be enclosed by a well built stone wall, from stone found on or near the premises, also a keeper's house to be erected on the lot, at a cost of about \$2000, and the grounds to be tastefully laid out and adorned with trees and shrubbery, all this expense to be carried to the common account. . . . A suitable monument to be erected on the ground at the common expense, at a cost not exceeding \$10,000, or, if it shall cost more, only that sum shall be charged to the common expense. . . . All the foregoing expenses stated to be charged are to be apportioned among the several States having soldiers to be buried in the cemetery—the States of Maine, New

Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Wisconsin and Michigan, each State to be assessed according to its population as indicated by the number of its representatives in Congress. . . . After the original outlay, all the ground to be kept in order and the house and fences in repair by the State of Pennsylvania. . . . It is expressly stipulated that the whole expense chargeable to the common account shall not exceed \$35,000. . . . Each State may, if it please, appoint an agent who will act with David Wills, agent of Pennsylvania, and other State agents, in carrying out the foregoing plan.

The foregoing was the first movement—originating solely with Governor Curtin—for the establishment and preservation of the battlefield of Gettysburg.

In his annual message to the Legislature in January, 1864, after referring to the financial condition, not only of the government but of the commonwealth, he calls the prompt attention of the Legislature to the subject of the relief of the poor orphans of our soldiers who have given, or shall give, their lives to their country during the crisis. "In my opinion," said the Governor, "their maintenance and education should be provided for by the State. Failing other natural friends of ability to provide for them, they should be honorably received and fostered as children of the commonwealth. The \$50,000 heretofore given by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, referred to in my last annual message, is still unappropriated, and I recommend that this sum, with such other means as the Legislature may think fit, be applied to this end, in such manner as may be thought

most expedient and effective. In anticipation of the adoption of a more perfect system, I recommend that provision be made for securing the admission of such children into existing educational establishments, to be there clothed, nurtured and instructed at the public expense. I make this recommendation earnestly, feeling assured that in doing so, I represent the wishes of the patriotic, the benevolent and the good of the State." The Legislature at this time took definite action in regard to the matter, and on the sixth of May, 1864, the State provided for their education by law.

The heart of Governor Curtin was as great as the people whom he represented, and when the loyal people of East Tennessee were represented to be in a most deplorable condition, he appealed with irresistible force alike to the sympathies and the sense of justice of the citizens. "Their whole country," said he, "has been laid waste by the contending armies of the government and the rebels. Four times large armies have passed over that district, destroying or carrying off all that had been gathered for the approaching winter, and now the women and children are left in a state of destitution. Representations made by sundry gentlemen of the highest respectability from that State, are of the most heart-rending character. Starvation, actual and present, now exists. Can we, in the midst of affluent abundance, for a moment hesitate as to what our action shall be toward the people whose only crime has been their loyalty and devotion to the government? Even if a portion of our charity should reach the starving families of those in sympathy with the rebellion, better it should than that these devoted, self-sacrificing people who have so unhesitatingly adhered to the government be left to

suffer. Whenever pestilence and famine distressed the people of any portion of our country, we have always been foremost in relieving them, and the people of Pennsylvania have extended their open-handed benevolence and broad charity to the starving people of foreign countries. Shall it be said that the appeals of these people for bread fell upon the heart of Pennsylvania in vain, and that we who have so recently given thanks for our abundance have no relief for them in their extremities? I commend the subject through you to the people of the State, as worthy the immediate attention and active exertions of the charitable and the liberal." Relief was at once given to the loyal people of that section of the Union.

In concluding his annual address, Governor Curtin referred to the military genius of General Meade and the promptness and self-sacrificing gallantry of General Reynolds, to whom under divine Providence we were indebted for success on the battlefield of Gettysburg, and that as sons of our own Pennsylvania we were proud to claim Generals Meade and Reynolds, and while the first then lived to enjoy the most precious of all rewards, the grateful appreciation of his countrymen, the gallant Reynolds fell in the very front of the battle, and we can only pay homage to his memory. Whatever honors have been at any time devised to commemorate the virtues of a patriot, of a true, fearless, loyal citizen and soldier, he has abundantly deserved, and although his surviving companions in arms claimed the right of themselves erecting a monument to him on the field on which he fell, and it would not be well to interfere with their pious intentions, yet he hoped that the Legislature would place upon the records of the State some

appropriate testimony of the public gratitude to him and his surviving commander.

“It would be unjust to omit referring again to the loyal spirit of our people, which has been evinced in every mode since this war commenced. Not only have they sent 277,409 men for the general and special service of the government, and supported with cheerfulness the burdens of taxation, but our storehouses and depots have literally overflowed with comforts and necessaries, spontaneously contributed by them, under the active care of thousands of our women (faithful unto death), for the sick and wounded and prisoners, as well as for our armies in the field. Their patriotic benevolence seems to be inexhaustible. To every new call the response becomes more and more liberal. When intelligence was received of the barbarian starvation of our prisoners at Richmond, the garner of our whole State were instantly thrown open, and before any similar movement had been made elsewhere, I was already employed on behalf of our people in efforts to secure the admission through the rebel lines of the abundant supplies provided for the relief of our suffering brethren. Those of our citizens who have fallen into the habit of disparaging our great commonwealth, and the unsurpassed efforts of her people, should blush when they look on this picture.

“That this unnatural rebellion may be speedily and effectually crushed, we lie—all—under the obligation of the one paramount duty—that of vigorously supporting our government in its measures to that end. To the full extent of my official and individual ability it shall be supported, and I rely heartily on your co-operation. I

am ready for all proper measures to strengthen its arm—to encourage its upholders—to stimulate by public liberality, to themselves and their families, the men who give to it their personal service—in every mode to invigorate its action. We are fighting the great battle of God—of truth—of right—of liberty. The Almighty has no attribute that can favor our savage and degenerate enemies. No people can submit to territorial dismemberment without becoming contemptible in its own eyes and in those of the world. But it is not only against territorial dismemberment that we are struggling, but against the destruction of the very groundwork of our whole political system. The ultimate question truly at issue is the possibility of the permanent existence of a powerful republic. That is the question to be now solved, and by the blessing of God, we mean that it shall not be our fault if it be not solved favorably.

“We have during the past year, made mighty strides toward such a solution, and to all human appearance we approach its completion. But whatever reverses may happen—whatever blood and treasure may still be required—whatever sacrifices may be necessary—there will remain the inexorable determination of our people to fight out this thing to the end—to preserve and perpetuate this Union. They have sworn that not one star shall be reft from the constellation, nor its clustered brightness be dimmed by treason and savagery, and they will keep their oath.”

Thus ended Governor Curtin's first administration, certainly the most memorable and trying of any administration not only in the history of our own State, but in the history of any State of the Union. He had to

meet the grave problems connected with the inauguration of a civil war that proved to be the most sanguinary of modern history, and the records of his administration which are best remembered relate exclusively to his heroic achievements for the advancement of the Union cause, for the supply of troops to fill the shattered ranks of our soldiers, and for the care of the sick, the wounded and the dead. But the administration of Governor Curtin was as conspicuous for its success in the development of a beneficent, progressive and patriotic State policy as it was in maintaining the war that gave him the enduring title of the great War Governor. He had to deal with the grave problem of State credit that was almost wholly shattered by the advent of war. When the first loan of \$3,000,000 was advertised in the early part of 1861, although a six per cent gold loan, it was with great difficulty that it could be handled upon the market at par. Notwithstanding the unexampled drain of expenditure for both State government and people, Curtin retired from his office after six years of service, with the credit of the State better established than ever it had been in all its past history.

One of his great civil achievements was the unshackling of our internal commerce by the removal of the illiberal tax upon tonnage that was imposed upon the Pennsylvania Railroad, the only great artery of trade this State had to reach the commerce of the West and bring it to the great commercial emporiums of our State. New York, Baltimore and Boston all had great trunk railways without tax upon their tonnage, while Pennsylvania was taxed three mills per ton per mile, thus driving the whole commerce of the West into

other marts of trade and depriving the city of Philadelphia of all commercial advantages beyond the limits of our State. It was a stubborn struggle to liberalize Pennsylvania to the enlarged ideas necessary to develop commercial relations with the great centres of commerce in the West, and it was won only by Curtin's heroic efforts to elevate the State out of the narrow channels in which we were floundering. He also gave a new impetus to the school system and planted it on the broad foundation that has given us our present munificent structure, and the great charities of Pennsylvania had their first inspiration from the liberal and generous policy that characterized his administration from beginning to end. He was in constant touch with the people, and ever respected their wants when it was possible to do so consistently with a progressive policy, and even when he braved the strongest prejudices the people trusted and followed him.

But for the fact that his heroic achievements connected with the war entirely overshadow the beneficence of his civil administration, he would stand out in the history of our Pennsylvania executives as surpassing all his predecessors in substantial benefits to the whole people of the commonwealth. He ended his first term with his health broken to an extent that his life was despaired of. Having gone through the severe exactions of a campaign for re-election that he earnestly sought to avoid because of his physical infirmities, and having won his re-election after a struggle of unexampled earnestness, he was so broken in health that he was compelled to seek rest in a sunnier clime soon after his second inauguration, and his farewell message to the

Legislature at the end of his first term was regarded by many, and probably by himself, as his last important official act. Fortunately his health was restored, and he was spared to the people of Pennsylvania not only to finish the second term to which they had chosen him, but to wear the honors of a Foreign Minister and Representative in Congress after his retirement.

Executive Mansion,

Washington, April 13, 1863.

Hon. Andrew G. Curtin

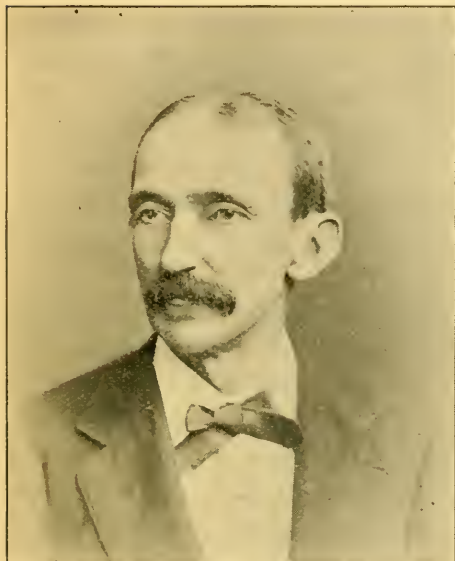
My dear Sir:

If after the expiration of your present term as Governor of Pennsylvania, I shall continue in office here, and you shall desire to go abroad, you can do so with one of the first class missions.

Yours truly
A. Lincoln

CURTIN RE-ELECTED GOVERNOR—1863.

BY WAYNE MAC VEAGH.



WAYNE MAC VEAGH.

Among the most grateful recollections of my life are the memories of my relations to Andrew G. Curtin during his two administrations as governor, covering the most trying period of our national and State history. To the utmost of my humble abilities I aided in his election in 1860, and in his re-election in 1863,

when at his personal request I accepted the responsible position of chairman of the Republican State Committee, and during his entire public career our close personal friendship was unbroken. The great battle for his re-election as governor in 1863 stands out single in the contests of our State, not only because of the strong personality exhibited in both the candidates for governor, but in the gravity of the issue that seemed to be involved in the struggle. It was a campaign unlike all

other campaigns. The contest of 1860, while inspired by the profoundest convictions, became a panorama of wide-awakes and a flood-tide of enthusiasm that swept everything before it, but the contest of 1863 was one of the soberest, most earnest and most intense ever known in Pennsylvania or in any other State of the Union. Gettysburg had just been fought; Vicksburg had surrendered, but we had yet nearly two years of desperate war through which to pass with steadily increasing sacrifices and monstrous strain upon the resources of the nation. Had Pennsylvania defeated Curtin in 1863 the Union cause would have been deeply wounded, and it was this conviction that silenced the cheers of the great campaign by the profound and sober sentiment of the people.

I was in a position to know how profoundly Governor Curtin appreciated the issue and his convictions took the most tangible shape. To a number of his friends before either party had made nominations for governor in 1863, he proposed and earnestly urged that a union of the two great parties of the State should be made on General William B. Franklin, a Democrat and gallant soldier, for the office of governor. He believed that it was possible thus to unify the people of Pennsylvania under such a leadership, and thus present an unbroken front in favor of the prosecution of the war until rebellion should be overthrown. It was not the fault of Governor Curtin that this great achievement failed. He and trusted friends conferred with prominent Democrats on the subject, and some of the leading Democrats heartily sympathized with the movement, but when the Democratic Convention met at Harrisburg on the seventeenth of June, it was found to be impossible to concentrate

the Democrats on Franklin. On the first ballot in that convention he received but four votes, and on the ninth ballot George W. Woodward, Justice of the Supreme Court, was nominated by a vote of seventy-five to fifty-three for Heister Clymer, and five for Nimrod Strickland.

The Republican Convention was not held until nearly two months later when it was assembled on the fifth of August at Pittsburg. Governor Curtin was grievously disappointed at the failure to harmonize the loyal sentiment of the State of all parties in support of a gallant soldier for governor on the distinct issue of sustaining the war. He was broken in health, and to force him into another State campaign was believed by those who knew him best to make him offer up the sacrifice of his life to patriotic duty. I saw him frequently during these trying times, and can testify how sincerely desirous he was, not only to retire from the responsible position that had so greatly impaired his physical powers, but to avoid an issue that might even appear to endanger the loyal cause. He felt utterly unequal to the task of entering on another campaign, and his devoted family mingled tears with their pleadings that he should be permitted to escape the fearful sacrifice. As is common in all parties, Governor Curtin had opponents within his own political circles. In Pittsburg, where the convention was held, and one of the great loyal centres of the State, there was bitter hostility to Governor Curtin growing out of a long, desperate and demoralizing contest over the repudiation of railroad obligations, but all who understood the situation appreciated the fact that only the intense loyal sentiment of the country could save the State, and that under no leader could it command such strength as under Curtin. He was

finally forced to yield to the imperious demand of the party and accept a second contest for governor. President Lincoln, appreciating Curtin's services and sacrifices, tendered him a first-class mission at the close of his gubernatorial term if he should choose to accept it, and at one time he publicly announced his acceptance of it and necessarily his retirement from the gubernatorial contest. This announcement was followed by a number of the leading counties of the State within a week or ten days thereafter, positively declaring in favor of Curtin's nomination, and for several weeks before the meeting of the convention it was evident that the Republicans must either nominate Curtin or practically surrender the battle. Curtin was nominated on the first ballot by the following vote: Curtin 90, Henry D. Moore 18, James P. Penny 14, Benjamin Harris Brewster 3 and J. K. Moorehead 1. As soon as the ballot was announced the nomination was made unanimous with the wildest enthusiasm.

I have been in a number of conventions as delegate, but I never witnessed the same earnest, sober conviction of duty rise above all mere personal or political considerations as was exhibited in the convention that renominated Curtin in 1863, and I was profoundly impressed by the responsibility of my position when our great loyal leader assigned to me the task of directing the campaign as chairman of the State committee. There were not less than 75,000 Pennsylvania soldiers in the Union army, and under our Pennsylvania laws they were then disfranchised unless they could be furloughed home to vote in their respective election precincts. The Legislature had already passed an amendment to the constitution permitting soldiers to

vote in the field, but it required to be passed without amendment by two consecutive legislatures, and then submitted to a vote of the people before it could be incorporated in the fundamental law. This was done by the Legislature elected in the fall of 1863 when it met in January of 1864, and the special election held in August, 1864, approved the proposed amendment. The soldiers in the field were thus enabled to vote for president in the fall of 1864. The State election of 1863, however, occurred on the second Tuesday of October, when active army operations were in progress, and it was impossible to expect any considerable proportion of the Pennsylvania voters to be furloughed to vote in their home precincts. It was known that not only the Republican soldiers but largely the Democratic soldiers as well, were in sincere sympathy with Governor Curtin because of his tireless devotion to their interests under all circumstances. His care for them was unflinching; it was visible not only in the field but in the camp, in the hospital and everywhere that offered a temple for the ministrations of humanity, but this great army of loyal voters was practically voiceless as voters, and it was this that made the friends of Curtin tremble as they awaited the final judgment of the State. In my position as chairman of the State committee I had ample opportunity to know the inner workings and movements of that desperate struggle, and it is worthy of record in history that the cause of Curtin was gained by the mute eloquence of disfranchised soldiers whose appeals came from camp, hospital and field to fathers, brothers and friends at home. There were few if any open declarations made by those who voted for the absent soldiers, but underlying the matchless ability exhibited on the stump,

and the well-directed efforts for organization made on both sides, was the deep-seated conviction of people who had sons and brothers in the army that the election of Curtin was a patriotic duty, and that one cause gave him the victory.

Governor Curtin was opposed in the contest of 1863 by the ablest Democrat in the State, the late Chief Justice George W. Woodward, who was then Justice of the Supreme Court. He had worn judicial honors for many years and as all conceded had worn them most worthily. To show his position in his party it is only necessary to state that he was nominated for United States Senator as early as 1845 and by a Democratic Legislature, but was defeated by a Democratic defection joining the Whigs to elect General Cameron on the tariff issue. He was a man of the highest character and certainly second to none in intellectual force. He brought into the contest therefore all the pride of his Democratic followers, and commanded the highest respect of his political foes. He did not enter into the campaign as a speaker because of his appreciation of the dignity of his judicial office, but the force of his great personality and clean record was felt in the struggle at every stage. Governor Curtin was so broken in his physical powers that he was unable to repeat his great campaign of 1860, but even when he had to speak at the risk of sacrificing life for his cause, he was heard time and again during the contest and his sober and eloquent appeals in behalf of his cause made the most profound impression upon citizens of every faith. With all of the complete machinery and exhaustive efforts of the party organization of the State it was impossible to forecast the re-election of Curtin with any degree of confidence until the vote was

polled, and it was not until election night, when increased Republican majorities were reported from every section of the State, that his loyal supporters were assured of their triumph. The State had voted Democratic in 1862, and the election of 1861, when no State ticket was to be chosen, gave the advantage to the Democrats. It is not surprising, therefore, that the campaign of 1863, with the large soldier vote disfranchised, was regarded as doubtful by the supporters of Curtin until the judgment of the people was recorded that gave him over 15,000 majority.

I have said that Curtin had opponents within his party, as is common with all men who achieve distinction, but it should be here recorded, that when his nomination was made in the Pittsburg convention, all personal and factional animosity speedily perished. In the political divisions of that day Senator Cameron was known as the leader of those who were opposed to Governor Curtin, and Governor Curtin was known as the leader of those who were opposed to Senator Cameron, but when Curtin's nomination was declared by the party, Senator Cameron came to the front and presided at an immense mass meeting in his own town of Harrisburg, and after appealing to all loyal men to support Curtin's re-election, he presented General Butler, who made the speech of the evening. So grave was the issue that all estrangements within the party were at once effaced, and common cause was made by the entire Republican forces of the State to win the victory. However men had differed before, or however they might differ thereafter, all felt that the campaign of 1863 was one in which patriotism was paramount to all individual considerations or interests. It was the one conflict of our

State in which there was but one issue, and that issue made all State questions pale into utter insignificance—the issue of sustaining the cause that had just won Gettysburg and Vicksburg, and prosecuting the war with unabated vigor until the Union should be fully restored and its authority respected in every section of the country.



A. G. CURTIN, 1840.

CURTIN'S SECOND TERM.

BY WILLIAM H. EGLE.

The second inauguration of Andrew G. Curtin as governor of Pennsylvania, took place on Tuesday, January 19, 1864, and was attended with all the ceremony and pageantry befitting the installation in office of the executive of the commonwealth. The entire front of the portico of the capitol was occupied with an immense platform, the whole being designated for the heads of departments, the members of both branches of the Legislature and invited guests. The platform was handsomely decorated with evergreens, while waving above the stand were the battle flags of the different Pennsylvania regiments, recently deposited among the archives of the State. These sacred emblems of the valor of the sons of Pennsylvania attracted much attention and were saluted by the military as they filed in front of the stand. The flags all bore evidence that they had once floated over other scenes than that which they now adorned, the most of them being tattered and torn, the marks of the bloody conflicts through which they were borne. One of the most interesting features of the platform, however, was the original Declaration of Independence table, then in the possession of the State, and now sacredly deposited in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. After the certificate of election was read and the oath of office administered, the Governor delivered his inaugural address :

Called by the partiality of my fellow citizens to the office of Governor of Pennsylvania for another term, I appear before you to solemnly renew the prescribed obligation to support the Constitution of the United States and the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, and to discharge the responsible trust confided to me with fidelity.

When first summoned before you, three years ago, to assume the sacred duties of the executive office, the long gathering clouds of civil war were about to break upon our devoted country. For years treason had been gathering in might; had been appropriating to its fiendish lust more and more bountifully of the nation's honors; had grown steadily bolder in its assumption of power until it had won the tolerance, if not the sanction, of a formidable element of popular strength, even in the confessedly loyal States. The election of a president in 1860, in strict conformity with the constitution and the laws, though not the cause, was deemed the fit occasion for an organized attempt to overthrow the whole fabric of our free institutions, and plunge a nation of thirty millions of people into hopeless anarchy. The grave offence charged against the President-elect seemed alone to consist in his avowed fidelity to the government and his determined purpose to fulfill his solemn covenant to maintain inviolate the union of the States. When inaugurated, he found States in open rebellion, disclaiming allegiance to the government, fraudulently appropriating its property, and insolently contemning its authority.

Treason was struggling for supremacy in every department of administrative power. In the Cabinet it feloniously disarmed us; our arsenals were robbed to enable the armies of crime to drench a continent in fraternal blood; our coasts were left comparatively defenceless, to fall an easy prey to traitors; our navy was scattered upon distant seas to render the Republic helpless for its own protection; officers, educated, commissioned, and sworn to defend the government against any foe, became deserters, defiled heaven in shameless perjury, and with fratricidal hands drew their swords against the country of their allegiance, and when treason had thus completed its preparations, wanton, wicked war was forced upon our loyal people.

Never was war so causeless. The North had sought no sectional triumph, invaded no rights, inflicted no wrongs upon the South. It aimed to preserve the Republic, not to destroy it, and even when rebellion presented the sword as the arbiter, we exhausted every effort consistent with the existence of our government to avert the bloody drama of the last three years. The insolent alternative

presented by treason of fatal dismemberment or internecine war, was met by generous efforts to avert the storm of death which threatened to fall; but the leaders of the rebellion spurned peace unless they could glut their infernal ambition over the ruins of the noblest and freest government ever devised by man.

Three years of bloody, wasting war, and the horrible sacrifice of a quarter of a million lives attest the desperation of their purpose to overthrow our liberties. Mourning and sorrow spread over the entire nation, and defeat and desolation are the terrible trophies won by the traitor's hand. Our people have been sorely tried by disasters, but in the midst of the deepest gloom they have stood with unflinching devotion to the great cause of our common country. Relying upon the ultimate triumph of the right they have proved themselves equal to the stern duty, and worthy of their rich inheritance of freedom. Their fidelity has been well rewarded. In God's own good time He has asserted His own avenging power; and as this war is now persisted in by the leaders of the rebellion, it has become evident that slavery and treason, the fountain and stream of discord and death, must soon share a common grave.

In this great struggle for our honored nationality Pennsylvania has won immortal fame. Despite the teachings of the faithless and the hesitation of the timid, she has promptly and generously met every demand made upon her, whether to repel invasion or to fight the battles of the Union, whenever and wherever her people were demanded. Upon every field made historic and sacred by the valor of our troops some of the martial youth of Pennsylvania have fallen. There is scarce a hospital that has not been visited by our kind offices to the sick and wounded; there is not a department in which brave men do not answer with pride to the name of our noble State, and while history endures, loyal hearts will turn with feelings of national pride to Gettysburg, where the common deliverance of Pennsylvania and the Union will stand recorded in the unsurpassed glory of that bloody field.

I need hardly renew my pledge, that during the term of office on which I am about to enter, I will give my whole moral and official power to the prosecution of this war, and in aiding the national government in every effort to secure early and complete success over our malignant foes.

For the preservation of our national life, all things should be subordinated. It is the first, highest, noblest duty of the citizen; it is his protection in person, property, and all civil and religious privileges; and for its perpetuity in form and power he owes all his efforts, his influence, his means, and his life. To compromise with

treason would be but to give it renewed existence, and enable it again to plunge us into another causeless war.

In the destruction of the military power of the rebellion, is alone the hope of peace, for while armed rebels march over the soil of any State no real freedom can prevail, and no governmental authority consistent with the genius of our free institutions can properly operate.

The people of every State are entitled under the constitution to the protection of the government, and to give that protection fully and fairly, rebellion must be disarmed and trodden in the dust. By these means, and these alone, can we have enduring union, prosperity and peace. As in the past, I will in the future, in faithful obedience to the oath I have taken, spare no means, withhold no power which can strengthen the government in this conflict. To the measures of the citizens chosen to administer the national government adopted to promote our great cause I will give my cordial approval and earnest co-operation. It is the cause of constitutional liberty and law.

Powers which are essential to our common safety should now be wisely and fearlessly administered, and that executive will be faithless, and held guilty before the world, who should fail to wield the might of the government for its own preservation.

The details of my views on the measures which I recommend are contained in my recent annual message and need not here be repeated.

I beg to return to the generous people of my native State my hearty thanks for their unfaltering support and continued confidence. They have sustained me amid many trying hours of official embarrassment. Among all these people to none am I more indebted than to the soldiers of Pennsylvania, and I here pledge to those brave men my untiring exertions in their behalf, and my most anxious efforts for their future welfare, and I commend here, as I have frequently done before, those dependent upon them, to the fostering care of the State.

I cannot close this address without an earnest prayer to the Most High that He will preserve, protect, and guard our beloved country, guiding with divine power and wisdom our government, State and national; and I appeal to my fellow citizens, here and elsewhere, in our existing embarrassments to lay aside all partisan feelings, and unite in a hearty and earnest effort to support the common cause which involves the welfare of us all.

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives, I pray you, in God's name, let us, in this era in the history of the world

set an example of unity and concord in the support of all measures for the preservation of this great republic.

Immediately after the close of the ceremonies of the inaugural, Governor Curtin, accompanied by the speakers and members of both Houses of the Legislature, proceeded to the Hall of the House of Representatives, where a committee from the State of New Jersey delegated to bear to Pennsylvania, and present to its governor, a testimonial of the sense entertained by the citizens of that State, of his patriotism and energy in the cause of our common country. This consisted of the complete works of John James Audubon, on the "Birds and Quadrupeds of America." This series of magnificent folio volumes bore upon the outside of the cover the inscription: "From the Loyal Citizens of New Jersey to His Excellency, Andrew G. Curtin, the Loyal Governor of Pennsylvania." The Governor was touched by this token of kind regard of the people of New Jersey, and his remarks in reply to the presentation speech of Mr. Dayton were as brilliant as they were sincere and heartfelt.

During the military campaign in the summer of 1864, the agents of the State in the Army of the Potomac and of the West made valuable reports to the Governor of the commonwealth, and at once measures were taken to make arrangements for the removal of the sick and wounded of Pennsylvania to their own homes within the State. It was well known that in the military hospitals restoration, in many instances, had become a matter of chance, in which everything was against the recovery of the soldiers. The heat of the buildings, absence of all except purely professional care, and seeing and hearing the sufferings of others, rendered the

sufferings of the wounded the more excruciating and terrible, and Governor Curtin believed that many a valuable life could be saved if pure air and light, cleanliness and affection were bestowed upon the suffering hero, and he, therefore, urged the Secretary of War and the Surgeon General of the United States to allow that the men of Pennsylvania be removed to their State. His appeals were so urgent that the heads of these departments at Washington could no longer resist, and thousands of the true hearts, the sick and wounded, were sent to their homes,—the vast majority to recover, although some to die.

In the early part of July the rebels invaded Maryland, and it was feared that Pennsylvania was again the object of their attack. In response to a call of the President on the fifth, the Governor issued a proclamation, requesting 12,000 volunteers to serve for one hundred days in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Washington City and its vicinity. On the day prior, he had asked for the same number to come forward without delay and thus aid their heroic brethren in the great army of the republic. The commissioners of the different counties of the commonwealth offered suitable bounties, and in a very brief time the complement of troops called for by the Executive was raised and sent forward. Following these calls, the President on the eighteenth of July issued a proclamation directing a draft for 500,000 men, before those for 24,000 men had been filled. The quota of Pennsylvania under this call was fixed at 70,000 men, and as is stated in the President's proclamation, it was chiefly to supply the alleged deficiency in former calls. Governor Curtin was surprised at the amount of this large deficiency, and could only account for the difference between

the number of men furnished by the State and the deficiency alleged existing in the assignment of that quota referred to, by the assumption that the men never reached the army, although enlisted and mustered after the payment of bounties by the localities to which they were supposed to be credited. The correspondence between the Executive, the Secretary of War and the President of the United States has been heretofore referred to. It is a matter of history that Governor Curtin was in the right. At once he issued his proclamation calling upon the loyal people of the State to volunteer, as more men were required to aid the gallant soldiers in the field in crushing the unholy rebellion, while every consideration of patriotism and of regard for their brethren who were then in the face of the enemy, obliged him to spare no effort to raise the necessary forces.

On the thirtieth of July a rebel guerrilla band entered Chambersburg and after demanding an exorbitant sum of money, which it was not within the power of the people at that moment to pay, set fire to the principal buildings in the town. No time was given to remove the women, children, the sick, or even the dead. The most valuable portion of the town was in a few hours a heap of smouldering ruins. The enemy retreated southward, pursued by a detachment of cavalry, which failed to arrest the fugitives. Owing to the fact that a few regiments of men organized under the late call for one hundred days, had been ordered to Washington, instead of being placed upon the borders of the commonwealth for its safety and protection, none whatever was given to Chambersburg. At this time Governor Curtin was at Bedford, taking a brief respite from the cares of office

and his stupendous labors in behalf of the soldiery of the commonwealth. This fact had become known to the rebel leaders, and, it was supposed that while a portion of their cavalry would engage the attention of the Union troops in the Cumberland Valley, that no obstacle would be placed in their way by having one of their boldest leaders, General Imboden, make a sudden dash on Bedford and seize the person of the Governor of Pennsylvania and other distinguished persons who were with him, taking them prisoners to Richmond, and then make their demands. Fortunately Governor Curtin was informed of their intentions and hastened away from the borders of the State, to the capital.

On the first day of August the Governor issued a proclamation stating that an extraordinary occasion required that prompt legislative action be had to make the military power of the State immediately available for State and national defence, and therefore convened the General Assembly on the ninth day of that month. The Legislature having assembled the Governor issued a message, from which we extract the following as the most important portions thereof:

Gentlemen: I have called you together in advance of your adjourned session for the purpose of taking some action for the defence of the State. From the commencement of the present rebellion Pennsylvania has done her whole duty to the government. Lying as her southern counties do, in the immediate vicinity of the border, and thus exposed to sudden invasion, a selfish policy would have led her to retain a sufficient part of her military force for her own defence. In so doing, she would have failed in her duty to the whole country. Not only would her men have been withheld from the field of general operations, but the loans and taxation which would have become necessary, would have to a large extent diminished the ability of her people to comply with the pecuniary demands of the United States. She would also have necessarily interfered with and hampered all the military actions of the government, and

made herself, to some extent, responsible for any failures and shortcomings that may have occurred. In pursuance of the policy thus deliberately adopted, this State has steadily devoted her men to the general service. From the beginning she has always been among the first to respond to the calls of the United States, as is shown by her history, from the three-months men and the Reserve Corps to the present moment. Thus faithfully fulfilling all her own obligations, she has a right to be defended by the national force as part of a common country; any other view would be absurd and unjust. She, of course, cannot complain when she suffers by the necessary contingencies of war. The reflections that have in too many quarters been made upon the people of her southern counties are most unfounded. They were invaded in 1862, when a Union army, much superior to any force of the rebels (and on which they had of course a right to rely), was lying in their immediate vicinity and north of the Potomac. They were again invaded in 1863, after the defeat of the Union forces under Milroy at Winchester, and they have again suffered in 1864, after the defeat of the Union forces under Crook and Averill. How could an agricultural people in an open country be expected to rise suddenly and beat back hostile forces which had defeated organized veteran armies of the government? It is of course expected that the inhabitants of an invaded country will do what is in their power to resist the invaders, and the facts herein-after stated will show, I think, that the people of these counties have not failed in this duty.

If Pennsylvania, by reason of her geographical position, has required to be defended by the national force, it has only been against the common enemy. It has never been necessary to weaken the army in the field by sending heavy detachments of veterans to save her cities from being devastated by small bands of ruffians composed of their own inhabitants. Nor have her people been disposed to sneer at the great masses of law-abiding citizens in any other State who have required such protection. Yet, when a brutal enemy, pursuing a defeated body of Union forces, crosses your border and burns a defenceless town, this horrid barbarity, instead of firing the hearts of all the people of our common country, is actually, in some quarters, made the occasion of mocks and gibes at the unfortunate sufferers, thousands of whom have been rendered homeless; and these heartless scoffs proceed from the very men who, when the State authorities, foreseeing the danger, were taking precautionary measures, ridiculed the idea of there being any danger, sneered at the exertions of the authorities to prepare for meeting it, and succeeded, to some extent, in thwarting their efforts to raise forces.

These men are themselves morally responsible for the calamity over which they now chuckle and rub their hands. It might have been hoped—nay, we had a right to expect—that the people of the loyal States engaged in a common effort to preserve their government and all that is dear to freemen would have forgotten, at least for the time, their wretched local jealousies, and sympathized with all their loyal fellow citizens, wherever resident within the borders of our common country. It should be remembered that the original source of the present rebellion was in such jealousies encouraged for wicked purposes by unscrupulous politicians. The men who, for any purpose, now continue to encourage them ought to be held as public enemies; enemies of our Union and our peace; and should be treated as such. Common feelings, common sympathies are the necessary foundations of a common free government. I am proud to say that the people of Pennsylvania feel every blow at any of her sister States as an assault upon themselves, and give to them all that hearty goodwill, the expression of which is sometimes more important, under the infliction of calamity, than mere material aid.

It is unnecessary to refer to the approach of the rebel army up the Shenandoah Valley on the third day of July last, to the defeat of General Wallace on the Monocacy, their approach to and threatening of the federal capital, or to their destruction of property and pillage of the counties of Maryland lying on our border. These events have passed into history, and the responsibilities will be settled by the judgment of the people. At that time a call was made upon Pennsylvania for volunteers to be mustered into the service of the United States, and to serve for one hundred days in the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and at Washington and its vicinity. Notwithstanding the embarrassments which complicated the orders for their organization and muster, six regiments were enlisted and organized, and a battalion of six companies. The regiments were withdrawn from the State, the last leaving the twenty-ninth day of July. I desired that at least part of this force should be confined in their service to the States of Pennsylvania and Maryland, and made such an application to the War Department. As the proposition did not meet their approbation it was rejected, and the general order changed to include the States named, and Washington and its vicinity. No part of the rebel army at that time had come within the State. The people of the border counties were warned and removed their stock, and at Chambersburg and York were organized and armed for their own protection.

I was not officially informed of the movements of the federal armies and, of course, not of the strategy of their commanders;

but it was stated in the newspapers that the rebel army was closely pursued after it had crossed the Potomac, and was retiring up the valley of the Shenandoah. Repeated successes of our troops were also announced, and the people of this State had just cause to believe that quite a sufficient federal force had been thrown forward for its protection upon the line of the Potomac. On Friday, the twenty-ninth of July, the rebel brigades of Johnson and McCausland, consisting of from two thousand five hundred to three thousand mounted men with six guns, crossed the Potomac at Clear Spring Ford.

They commenced crossing at ten o'clock a. m., and marched directly on Mercersburg. There were but forty-five men picketed in that direction under the command of Lieutenant McClean, U. S. A., and as the enemy succeeded in cutting the telegraph communications, which from that point had to pass west by way of Bedford, no information could be sent to General Couch by telegraph, who was then at Chambersburg. The head of this column reached Chambersburg at three o'clock, a. m., on Saturday, the thirtieth.

The rebel brigades of Vaughn and Jackson, numbering about three thousand mounted men, crossed the Potomac at about the same time at or near Williamsport; part of the command advanced on Hagerstown, the main body moved on the road leading from Williamsport to Greencastle. Another rebel column of infantry and artillery crossed the Potomac simultaneously at Shepherdstown and moved toward Leitersburg. General Averill, who commanded a force reduced to about two thousand six hundred men, was at Hagerstown, and being threatened in front by Vaughn and Jackson, on his right by McCausland and Johnson, who also threatened his rear, and on his left by the column which crossed at Shepherdstown, he therefore fell back upon Greencastle.

General Averill, it is understood, was under the orders of General Hunter, but was kept as fully advised by General Couch as was possible, of the enemy's movements on his right and to his rear. General Couch was in Chambersburg, where his entire force consisted of sixty infantry and forty-five cavalry, and a section of a battery of artillery, in all less than one hundred and fifty men. The six companies of men, enlisted for one hundred days remaining in the State, and two companies of cavalry had, under orders from Washington (as I am unofficially advised), joined General Averill. The town of Chambersburg was held until daylight by the small force under General Couch, during which time the government stores and train were saved. Two batteries were then planted by the enemy

commanding the town, and it was invested by the whole command of Johnson and McCausland. At seven o'clock a. m., six companies of dismounted men, commanded by Sweeney, entered the town, followed by mounted men under Gilmore. The main force was in line of battle. A demand was made for \$100,000 in gold, or \$500,000 in government funds, as ransom, and a number of citizens were arrested and held as hostages for its payment. No offer of money was made by the citizens of the town, and even if they had any intention of paying a ransom no time was allowed, as the rebels commenced immediately to burn and pillage the town, disregarding the appeals of women and children, the aged and infirm, and even the bodies of the dead were not protected from their brutality. It would have been vain for all the citizens of the town, if armed, to have attempted, in connection with General Couch's small force, to defend it. General Couch withdrew his command, and did not himself leave until the enemy were actually in the town. General Averill's command being within nine miles of Chambersburg, it was hoped would arrive in time to save the town, and efforts were made to communicate with him during the night. In the meantime the small force of General Couch held the enemy at bay. General Averill marched on Chambersburg, but did not arrive until after the town was burned and the enemy had retired. He pursued and overtook them at McConnellsburg, in Fulton County, in time to save that place from pillage and destruction. He promptly engaged and defeated them, driving them to Hancock and across the Potomac.

I commend the houseless and ruined people of Chambersburg to the liberal benevolence of the Legislature, and suggest that a suitable appropriation be made for their relief. Similar charity has been heretofore exercised in the case of an accidental and destructive fire at Pittsburg, and I cannot doubt the disposition of the Legislature on the present occasion.

On the fifth day of this month a large rebel army was in Maryland and at various points on the Potomac as far west as New Creek; and as there was no adequate force within the State, I deemed it my duty on that day to call for 30,000 volunteer militia for domestic protection. They will be armed, transported and supplied by the United States, but, as no provision is made for their payment, it will be necessary, should you approve my action, to make an appropriation for that purpose.

The Legislature at once passed an act for the organization and regulation of the militia of the commonwealth,

and also one to regulate elections by soldiers in actual military service. These were promptly signed by the Governor and the extraordinary session of the Legislature was adjourned.

On the second of August, 1864, several amendments to the Constitution of Pennsylvania were adopted by a majority of the qualified voters of the commonwealth. The most important of these amendments was the one which gave to the soldier the right of the elective franchise. This special amendment became a question between the two great parties of the State, and never has there been a contest more bitterly canvassed than the one which decided the result. The friends of the soldier and of the Union had the satisfaction as the result, that there was a 94,000 majority for the amendment. The issue involved in the question of extending this right to the soldier was the same as that embraced in the questions making up the issue in the Presidential canvass of that year, and, hence, the terrible opposition that was manifested by the Democratic party of that time; for, without the vote of the soldier, it was a fact that President Lincoln could not have been elected. At once measures were taken to perfect the system by which the soldiers in the field might have secured to them the privileges of the franchise, and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania sent agents to all the regiments in the front confiding to them certain duties so that the soldier should have the full exercise of his voice, by the ballot, in the control of the government.

The Legislature of 1865 passed two important measures, the success of which the Executive had much at heart. These were the general bounty bill, to volunteers or those drafted into the military service, and the act for

the continuance of the care of the orphan children of Pennsylvania's dead heroes. The latter was a sacred pledge, but the former was a wise and judicious enactment. Pennsylvania's quota in the war was rapidly filled.

Always solicitous of the care of the soldier, it was through Governor Curtin that the national authorities perfected arrangements by which supplies for volunteers then prisoners in the South could be forwarded. The Governor announced this fact to the people through the Legislature by a special message, on the twenty-seventh of January, 1865, the State promising to defray all expenses of transportation to the places designated. The prisoners, it was then well known, were in want of food, clothing and in fact all the necessaries of life, and while the United States Government would forward clothing, it depended entirely upon the friends of the prisoners in the loyal States to send other supplies which were absolutely needed by the men almost on the verge of starvation. "Our generous loyal men and women," said Governor Curtin, "have never failed to respond to such an appeal, and it is scarcely necessary to urge upon them the necessity of prompt action on this occasion, if they have the knowledge that supplies can be sent to their destitute relatives and friends. The destitution and suffering to which our soldiers have been reduced by the barbarity of our savage enemies cannot be adequately described. We should avail ourselves of the opportunity now at last afforded to relieve them."

This appeal of the Governor's was printed and freely circulated throughout the commonwealth, and it had the desired effect. The liberality of the people, as heretofore in all charitable and philanthropic efforts was simply wonderful.

On the third of February the Governor sent to the General Assembly a message enclosing a communication which he had forwarded to the President of the United States on the twenty-sixth of January preceding. At that time the Governor's letter remained unanswered, and we have no knowledge that it was ever replied to. As a State paper involving a discussion of the conscription laws, the examination of a practical question and the plain statement of facts, it is certainly unrivaled and it elicited the favorable and cordial comments of every leading journalist throughout the State under whose examination it had then passed. With such an appeal before him, and with facts and arguments as irresistible as those adduced in this letter, President Lincoln could offer no favorable excuse in delaying a reform of the evils complained of and so perfectly exposed. It is a well-known fact however, that, in the history of the rebellion at that period, there was one man who had supreme control over his actions, and that man was Secretary Stanton. This letter is of such importance, forming a part of the history of the rebellion, that it is herewith given in full :

Sir: The act of the third of March, 1863, commonly called the Enrollment Act, provided (Section 4) that for the purposes of the act each Congressional district of the respective States should form a district, and (Section 11) that all persons enrolled should be subject to be called into the military service of the United States, and to continue in service during the present rebellion, not, however, exceeding the term of three years, and, further (Section 12), that in assigning to the districts the number of men to be furnished therefrom, the President should take into consideration the number of volunteers and militia by and from the several States in which said districts were situated, and the period of their service since the commencement of the rebellion, and should so make said assignments as to equalize the numbers among the districts of the several States, considering and allowing for the numbers already furnished as aforesaid and the time of their service.

The time of actual service, which by this act you were directed to consider and allow for, could not, without impracticable labor, or indeed, at all, be fixed with exactitude for each district, but it could easily have been so approximated by averages, that little if any practical injustice would have been done. The commencement of the third year of the war was close at hand at the time of the passage of the act. It would not have been difficult to ascertain, of 1000 men enlisted for three years, what was the average number that remained actually in the service at the end of the first and second years respectively, and thus the act could have been substantially complied with. For instance, suppose it to have been found that of 1000 men enlisted for three years, there remained in the service an average of forty per cent at the close of the first year, and twenty per cent at the close of the second year. The result would have been, under the provisions of the act, that 1600 one-year men would have been taken as the equivalent of 1000 three-year men.

Unfortunately the heads of bureaus, to whom the matter seems to have been entrusted, began by falling into a strange misconstruction of the act. They did, in effect, strike from the twelfth section the phrases "period of their service" and "time of their service," and insert in lieu thereof the phrase, "term of their enlistment," and then proceeded to apportion credits by multiplying the number of men furnished from a district by the number of years for which they were enlisted. Calculations made on this basis were of course most extravagant, and the people everywhere felt that somehow injustice was being done. In the attempt to soften this, numerous and contradictory orders have been issued from the provost marshal general's office, and long essays by himself and others have been in vain published to explain and justify their action.

In fact, as soon as they got beyond the morally certain limit of the actual service of the man, their calculation has no longer a practicable basis. Its principle, carried to a legitimate extreme, would justify the enlistment of one man for 50,000 years, and crediting him as the whole quota of the State, with a small excess. Surely every reasonable man can say for himself whether he has found that getting one pair of boots for three years is practically equivalent to getting three pairs of boots for one year.

The visionary character of the system on which they have proceeded cannot be better illustrated than by the result at which they have arrived on the present occasion. The quota of Pennsylvania on the last call was announced to be 61,700; her quota to make up deficiencies under that call was announced to be 66,999 men. On

the twenty-fourth instant it was announced that the quota of the western district had, on revision, been fixed at 22,543, which would make that of the whole State about 44,000; and late on the same day it was further announced that the quota of the western district was 25,512, and that of the whole State 49,583; all of the changes being caused by no intervening circumstances that I am aware of. In fact our quota on the last call was filled, and there can be no deficiency to be now supplied.

Their plan is unjust to the districts and to the government. It wholly ignores the losses of men by desertion, sickness, death and casualties. The losses from most of these causes are greater during the first year of service than afterward. A town which has furnished 3000 men for one year has probably lost three-fifths of them from these causes before the expiration of the term. Another equal town which has furnished 1000 men for three years may, before the expiration of that term, have lost seventeen-twentieths of them. The first town will have thus given 1600 men to the country; the second but 850. There is no equality in this. The exhaustion of the industrial population of the two towns is in very unequal proportions. As to the government—the government has in the first case the actual service, during the whole year, of 1400 men; in the second case the actual service of say 400 men during the whole first year, of probably not more than 200 men during the whole second year, and say 150 men at most during the whole third year. Besides, the amount of service that may be required promptly is to be considered, and not merely the agreed term of service. At the late storm of Fort Fisher, one at least, of the Pennsylvania one-year regiments was engaged, and behaved most gallantly. Who will say that if one-third of its number had been enlisted for three years it would on that account have been able to perform as much service as the whole number did in that unsurpassed exploit?

But there is even more serious error than has been above exposed. The clause of the act of third of March, 1863, under which your officers profess to be acting, has not been in force since the twenty-fourth of February, 1864.

Whether induced thereto by the strangeness of the system which had been adopted under it, or for whatever reasons, Congress thought fit to pass the act of twenty-fourth February, 1864, entitled "An act to amend the act of March 3, 1863," which provides (Section 2) that the quota of each ward of a city, town, etc., shall be as nearly as possible in proportion to the number of men resident therein liable to render military service, taking into account, as far as practicable, the number which had been previously furnished therefrom.

Thus the former act was amended by giving credits not to districts, but to smaller localities, and by omitting the provision for considering and allowing for the time of service in estimating credits; they were directed in future to be given as far as practicable on the basis of the number of men previously furnished, without reference to the time of service.

And this was followed up by the act of fourth July, 1864, passed at the same session, which provides (Section 1) that the President may, at his discretion, call for any number of volunteers for the respective terms of one, two and three years, with bounties regulated according to their term of enlistment, and (Section 2) that in case the quota of any town, etc., shall not be filled within the space of sixty days after such call, then the President shall immediately order a draft for one year to fill such quota.

These are the clauses which now regulate the subject. It is not for me or you, sir, to discuss the question of their propriety. They are to be obeyed.

It would be easy to show that they form a reasonable and intelligible system. Formerly when calls were made of men for military service, they were made by requisitions on the governors of the respective States, who then proceeded to draft the required number to fill the quota of the State. In this draft men from any State or locality, who had voluntarily entered the service of the United States, by enlisting in the army or otherwise, were not taken into account. No credits were given for them on the quota any more than men who had of their own accord engaged themselves in any other lawful employment. The system, however, of raising very large bodies of men as volunteers, under the act of Congress of 1861, had drawn upon the military population of the respective States and localities very heavily, and not quite equably, and therefore, when the enrollment act of 1863 was passed, it was thought best to provide for equalizing the exhaustion by allowing credits to localities for the volunteers furnished by them. But the government had accepted volunteers for various terms of service, and hence the effort to render the equalization more perfect by considering and allowing for the time of their service as well as the number of men. The acts of 1864, above recited, have modified this system by fixing a definite term of service (one year) for which men are to be drafted. Volunteers for not less than that term are to be credited to their localities, on the quota, and receive a certain bounty from the government. Such of them as choose to enlist for longer terms receive further bounties from the government, but, so far as regards the increased term beyond one year, are not to be credited on the quota, but are

to be left on the same footing that all volunteers were on before the act of 1863. That is to say, the government announces that it will take by its authority a certain number of men from a locality for military service for one year. That is the lawful demand which it will enforce. It pays bounties in case of localities to facilitate them in complying with this demand without a compulsory draft. But it has made no demand for men to serve for two or for three years. The government receives and pays additional bounties to volunteers for these terms, but in that deals with the men only, and as the increased term of service beyond one year is not agreed to be rendered in compliance with any demand of the government, it gives the locality no credit on the quota for it. The government requires 100,000 men for one year; not a less number of men for a longer term. For a deficiency in the number of volunteers for that term, it makes a draft for one year. This is to fill the quota—not more nor less—when the draft has been effected the quota is full; there is neither excess nor deficiency.

You see that the system thus established by law is not without foundation in reason, and can be readily understood.

Sir, you may not have heretofore been apprised of the fact that your subordinates are wholly disregarding the act of twenty-fourth February, 1864. They are proceeding in open and direct violation of it, and are thus creating naturally great confusion and uncertainty among the people. They announce on the one hand that although a three-year man counts only as a one-year man toward the quota on which he volunteers, yet that he shall be counted as three one-year men toward the quota on a future call. This is directly in the teeth of the law. On the other hand, they are ciphering out a deficiency on the last call by counting three one-year men as only equivalent to one three-year man, which is equally against law.

Thus the quota of Pennsylvania under the call of eighteenth of July last was filled in accordance with the law, by men to serve for not less than one year. The term of service of these men is not yet half expired, and yet your subordinates are threatening a draft to fill an alleged deficiency on that very call, the existence of which they attempt to make out by persisting in their unlawful and unsubstantial theories and calculations.

Our people know that the government requires more men. They are willing to furnish them—heavy as the burden has become on the industrial population. Let the requirement be made in the clear and definite shape which the law provides for, and it will be cheerfully complied with. But it is hardly to be tolerated that your subordinates should be permitted longer to pursue the system of substituting for the law an eccentric plan of their own.

Sir, on behalf of the freemen of this commonwealth, who have always given a cheerful and hearty support to your government in the prosecution of this war, it is my duty to insist—and I do insist—that you enforce upon your subordinates that obedience to the law which you owe, as well as they and all of us. It is of evil example; it tends to enfeeble, nay, to destroy, the just power of the government, that you should suffer your officers to treat with open contempt any acts of Congress, and especially those which you have yourself approved, and which regulate a matter of such deep and delicate moment as the enforcing a draft for the military service. Relying heartily on your wisdom and justice to set right what has thus been going wrong, and to compel henceforth, on the part of all, a proper respect for, and obedience to, the laws of the land,

I am, sir, very respectfully,

A. G. CURTIN.

The amendment to the Constitution of the United States declaring that slavery shall never more be tolerated among the freemen of the United States, was passed by the Legislature of Pennsylvania on the fourth of February, 1865, notwithstanding the factious opposition which only delayed the triumph of the measure which rid the land of slavery, and thus saved the government for all time to come. No warmer advocate was there in the commonwealth than Governor Curtin, and the action of the Assembly found in him hearty co-operation in that measure.

From that time forward the close of the rebellion seemed not far off, and although at times the army of General Lee threatened an invasion of the North, it was never consummated.

The successful march to the sea by General Sherman's army in the early spring of 1865, followed by the hasty adjournment of the rebel Congress, pointed ominously to the end of the rebellion. The days of the Southern Confederacy were numbered. The occupation of Richmond by the Union forces on the early morning of the

third of April and the rapid retreat of the demoralized army of Lee, followed in hot chase by the victorious Union forces under General Grant, made possible the surrender of the rebel army at Appomattox, on the ninth day of April, 1865. It was this triumph of the Army of the Potomac which closed the war of the rebellion, and brought peace to a distracted country. Four years of war served to re-establish the authority of the people and to prove to the world the strength of popular government. Four years of strife dispelled dreams which like a nightmare distempered the minds of the Southern Confederacy and provoked the people into a rebellion. A grand confederacy was the illusion which floated before the minds of some of the most active and prominent leaders in rebellion—a confederacy confined in its territorial extent only by climate favorable to the greatest development of slavery; to include the gulf, the islands, Central America, down to the isthmus in its embrace, did not seem too large to the magnificent view of the Southern leaders. Geographically, it was to have been the pick and garden of the world. Commercially, the centre of its wealth. Politically, the predominant power of the Western country, exercising its influence and giving laws to the whole. These were all dreams which thirty years of teaching by demagogues and oligarchs produced. Four years of cruel strife and bitter experience dispelled all these chimeras and the only empire recognized over all the broad lands which comprise the Union, was the empire of law, justice and equality.

Unfortunately in the hour of victory came the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. Upon it being announced that the assassin had taken refuge in Pennsylvania

Governor Curtin issued a proclamation offering a liberal reward for his arrest if found within the boundaries of the commonwealth.

When the end of the rebellion came no one rejoiced more over the happy result than Governor Curtin. Under date of June 10, 1865, he issued the following congratulatory and stirring address to the people of Pennsylvania :

The bloody struggle of four years is ended. The fires of rebellion are quenched. The supremacy of law and right is re-established. The foulest treason recorded in history has been beaten to the earth. Our country is saved. These blessings we owe, under God, to the unequalled heroism, civic and military, of the people. In the darkest hours, under the heaviest discouragements, falter who would, they never faltered. They have been inspired with the determination to maintain the free government of our fathers, the continued union of our whole country, and the grand republican principles which it is their pride and duty to defend for the sake, not only of themselves, but of the human race.

I glory in saying that the people of Pennsylvania have been among the foremost in the career of honor. Their hearts have been in the contest; their means and their blood have been poured out like water to maintain it.

The remnants of the heroic bands that left her soil to rescue their country are now returning, having honorably fulfilled their service.

They have left tens of thousands of their brothers on many a bloody field. Their memories will be preserved on our rolls of honor. For their widows and families a grateful country will suitably provide.

Let the survivors who are now returning to us have such a welcome as befits a brave and patriotic people to give to the gallant men who have saved the country, and shed new lustre on Pennsylvania.

I recommend that in every part of the State, on the approaching anniversary of independence, special observances be had of welcome to returned defenders, and of commemoration of the heroic deeds of themselves and their comrades who have fallen.

In a short time the battle-scarred veterans began to return from the war and rendezvous at Harrisburg, preparatory to being mustered out of service. When

they went forth the Governor had presented the regiments with battle-flags; they now returned them. The occasion was one of the most memorable and impressive ever witnessed at the State capital. It occurred at Camp Curtin . . . and the address of the Governor on receiving these flags was the grandest and most eloquent effort of his life. He said:

I wish I had the language to express to you, Colonel McCalmont, and the brave men you represent, all I feel on this occasion; and I trust that every citizen of the United States enjoys the sentiments of gratitude to you all for your services which I know fills my heart. It has often been my duty to be heard by the citizens of Pennsylvania on the camp. On such occasions, obedient to the law, I presented these and other standards to regiments as they were about to depart into the service of the government. Now I receive these battered and war-torn flags to be preserved as part of your history in the archives of the State. And as I know that thousands of Pennsylvanians are approaching the State from the armies of the republic to go back again into the body of the people, I praise God that not a tarnish rests upon you or them, and that your flags are returned without dishonor. How can I express to you the full measure of your services to your country and your fellow citizens who have remained at home! You do not bring* back to us the spoils of desolated cities, no captives to be made slaves; but higher, far, your mission and its results! You bring to us a government restored and saved.

The free institutions we received from the apostles of liberty in the Revolution we give, with all their blessings, to our children. Heretofore the freest, you have now made this the strongest government in the world; and you have demonstrated that a republic can live through domestic treason and insurrection; and, more than all, you give to the experiment of American civilization four millions of ransomed people.

If we could this day dry the tears of the widows and orphans; if we could restore the maimed and call from the graves the heroic dead, our happiness would be complete. But I cannot fail to congratulate you now, before you return to your homes, on the part our great commonwealth has taken in this bloody drama. We have given our full share of blood and treasure, and the field upon which we now stand will be known as classic ground, for here has been

the great central point of organization of our military forces. When my administration of public affairs will have been forgotten [cries of "You will never be forgotten"], and the good and the evil will be only known to the investigation of the antiquarian, Camp Curtin, with its memories and associations, will be immortal. I am not ashamed to say to you, fellow citizens of Pennsylvania, that I have tried to do my duty to you. I wish I could have done more for you. [Voices, "You did! you're the soldiers' friend!"] I do not know who gave me that name of "the soldiers' friend," but God knows if I deserve it, I am proud of it! You do not realize the extent of your services to the country, and how much we all owe to you. Our government has withstood a desolating war of four years; the sacrifice of half a million of lives; of three thousand millions of treasure, and the assassination of our President; yet over the grave of the martyred Lincoln, the power of his great office passed to his constitutional successor so gracefully that we scarcely felt the transition, and now the government stands strong and grand in its majesty and power. Let us all give to the living President our support in the trials that surround him in the peaceful re-establishment of the government which you have sustained in the field, and let all those who carp at President Johnson remember that he, too, is a man of the people, trained in the schools of poverty and adversity. He is the artificer of his own fortunes, and he has enjoyed many of the highest honors of the country. He has always been a favorite of the people; and in his trying position he now deserves and should receive the support of the people. The people of Pennsylvania have in this war sustained the citizens called to administer the government, regarding them for the time as the government itself, and will give that measure of support to President Johnson. It would be well for political philosophers to remember that, when Tennessee was not included in the proclamation of President Lincoln, holding an office of uncertain tenure and doubtful powers, Andrew Johnson proclaimed on his own responsibility universal freedom to all the people of that State.

Why should I say more to-day? I wish you all safe return to your homes, and that you may there find happiness and prosperity. To-day I feel proud of my office, for I know that I represent the heart of all the people of Pennsylvania, and speak for them when I pray Almighty God to bless you.

With the close of the war came the work of reconstruction. Many grave questions regarding the rehabilitation of the States lately in rebellion, and the proposed

amendments to the constitution had to be considered and disposed of. Under date of July 11, 1866, Governor Curtin addressed a letter to the chairman of the Union State Central Committee, in which he gave his views of the constitutional amendments in clear and terse language.

The issues involved in the adoption of the amendments proposed for the ratification of the States, were not new. They were questions which were considered and discussed during the whole progress of the war, and the people had abundant opportunity to consider them, and had definitely made up their minds on them. While the North should be magnanimous to the rebellious States, who were to form an integral part of the nation, they should also guard all sections against the possibility of renewed attempts to dismember the Union. There must be some penalty for a crime which had desolated the land, ridged it with untimely graves, bereaved almost every household and staggered it with debt. For a crime so fearful there must be some monuments of justice as a warning to mankind of the fate which awaited those who, actuated by passion or ambition, might hereafter seek to destroy the noblest and best government on earth.

Congress had no more than met the demands of a loyal people, in the proposed amendments. As a basis of reconstruction they were regarded by all dispassionate men as remarkable only for their magnanimity and the generous terms on which it was proposed to admit to full citizenship ninety-nine one-hundredths of those who crimsoned their hands in the blood of their brethren to give anarchy to a continent. To provide that those who had added perjury to treason in the sanctuary of

both military and civil power should hereafter be unable to repeat their treason against the nation, while others were restored to full fellowship, was a policy whose generosity could emanate from a government as free and as strong as the American Union. To put all the States upon an equality as to the basis of representation was not only reasonable but necessary. Before the rebellion, three-fifths of the slaves were counted in estimating representative population. Slavery having been abolished, the slave States, unless the constitution be amended as proposed, would be entitled to add two-fifths of their late slaves in estimating their representative population. Surely the nation had not carried on a bloody war for four years merely to give the rebellious States an increase of political power. That those States should have no more representation, in proportion to their voting population, than the old free States had, was a proposition so just that it would seem to be impossible for any freeman of Pennsylvania to object to an amendment to prevent such a result.

It was just and equitable in every sense, and, while it left the question of suffrage wholly with the States, where it properly belonged, it made every appeal to the interest and pride of the States to liberalize their policy, and to give to all classes the benefit of American civilization.

That all persons, of whatsoever class, condition or color, should be equal in civil rights before the law, was demanded by the very genius of our government; and it was a blistering stain upon our nationality that slavery had been enabled, even until the noontide of the nineteenth century, to deform its civil policy, and in many States to deny equal justice to a large class of people.

To maintain the national credit, our faith with the maimed and wounded soldiers, and to forbid the assumption of any part of the debt contracted for the rebellion, were propositions too clearly in harmony with the purposes of the people and the solemn duty of the government to require elucidation.

These were the issues involved in the proposed amendments. They were intended as guarantees in the future against the renewal of wrongs already long suffered. But they were, in fact, elements which should have entered into the national organic law when the government was framed, in express terms, as they did in its true spirit. To effect their adoption, and the restoration of the States recently in rebellion, upon the terms proposed, at the earliest possible period, was Governor Curtin's earnest desire, and to that end his humble efforts were given with untiring zeal to the advocacy of the proposed amendments and the support of the candidates who were identified with them. He was rejoiced to know that the great Union party, that had guided the government so faithfully, even in the darkest hour of the war, and through whose instrumentality the measures were devised to preserve our beloved Union, was then cordially united in the support of these amendments.

Yielding to no one in veneration for the great charter of our liberties, the Governor did not favor changes in its text for light and trivial causes, but the late rebellion against the government had made it a duty to incorporate into the organic law such provisions for the future safety and prosperity of the republic as had been indicated by the light of recent experience. The issue was fairly before the people. Other issues which in past

struggles divided us had passed away. Slavery was dead. After a career of mingled wrong and arrogance it died amidst the throes of the cruel war which it originated, and the constitution had already been so amended as to prohibit it forever in the United States.

The last great struggle to gather the logical and just fruition of the sacrifices of the civil war would be decided by the verdict of the people of the several States in the approaching elections, and the Governor did not doubt the issue after the fidelity they had shown in the past. Since the failure of the States to act in concert and at once, on the amendments, he did not regret that the question of reconstruction would go to the highest tribunal known to our institutions—the people. And when they should have declared, million-tongued, in favor of the amendments, their admonitions to the States still struggling to make the war fruitless would be too potential to be disregarded, and the results be accepted promptly by friends and foes in the late war.

Owing to the fact that great injustice had been done to the private soldiers who went into the service under the provisions of an act of Congress, by the refusal to pay them the full bounty under the terms of that act, Governor Curtin addressed a letter to the Secretary of War under date of June 5, 1865, which sufficiently explains the position of that affair and its importance as being a part of the history of Pennsylvania in the struggle for the Union :

Sir: There are two subjects connected with the discharge of volunteers which are of so much importance that I feel justified in calling your attention to them.

First. The men are being paid only to the day of their arrival at the place they are to be discharged. This will cause them to lose a few days' pay, depending principally upon the promptness and

disposition of the officers of the United States having the matter in charge. It is a matter of little moment to the government, but the men feel it to be an injustice, and if, under that act of Congress, they can be paid until discharged, I think you will agree with them.

Second. In circular number twenty-nine from provost marshal general's office, dated July 19, 1864, under which the volunteers now to be discharged were raised, it is stated that the bounty provided by law is as follows:

“For recruits, including representative recruits, white or colored, \$100.”

And it is further added that the first installment of the bounty will be paid when the recruit is mustered in, as follows:

“To a recruit who enlisted in the army for one year, \$33.33.”

On these terms the men enlisted, and they are of opinion that they are entitled to the remainder of their bounty when discharged from service.

It is proposed, however, to pay them but a part of this remainder, because the government does not require their services for the full term of their enlistment, and appears to be a breach of the contract between the government and the men. The bounty was held out by the government as an inducement to enlist, not as additional pay for services to be rendered. The men became entitled to it by the fact of enlistment, and could only forfeit what remained unpaid by some misconduct, of which such forfeiture should be a legal penalty. These matters are creating much unpleasant feeling among the men.

I need not say to you they have behaved gallantly, and the country owes them everything; and, if it can possibly be avoided, they ought not to be sent home under the feeling that the government, when their services are no longer required, takes the first opportunity to treat them unjustly and violate its contract with them.

I assure you that unless these difficulties are relieved there will be created a general discontent which will be injurious hereafter; and it is my fervent desire for the success of your administration which leads me to bring them directly to your notice.

The refusal having been persisted in by the Secretary of War under the opinion of the Attorney General of the United States, the Governor recommended that the Legislature make proper efforts to have this injustice corrected. This was accordingly done by enactment.

In November following, the Governor was stricken

down by disease, and under the advice of his physician it was found absolutely necessary that he should make a short sea voyage, and sojourn in a milder climate. When the Legislature assembled in January, 1866, instead of his annual message forwarded to the Legislature, the Governor had directed the following:

It is my hope and intention to return in good season to welcome you on your arrival at the seat of government. But if it should be found indispensable that my visit to Cuba should be prolonged to the early part of February, this message will serve to lay before you the cause of my absence at the commencement of your session. In this case I feel sure that you will adopt such course as shall consist with your wisdom and with the affectionate consideration which I have always received at your hands.

It would, however, not become me to forget that the issues of life are in the hands of One above all, and that many have found death waiting for them on the foreign shore, to which they had been sent in search of health. Should such be my fate, I shall draw my last breath with a sense of the deepest gratitude to the people of the commonwealth and their representatives, for the cheerful, manly, unflinching support which they have given during the last four years to the great cause of the right, and to me in my efforts to maintain it, and with a prayer of thankfulness to Almighty God, that He strengthened me till the end of the cruel rebellion, and thought me worthy to be permitted to continue to that time as the chief magistrate of the people of Pennsylvania. To have my name connected in that relation, with such a people, during such a time, ought to be enough to fill the highest measure of any man's ambition.

On the twenty-third of January, the Governor announced his return to the capital, that he was restored to improved health, and ready for the transaction of such official business as might be presented to him. On the thirtieth he sent to that body his annual message, comparatively brief in its statements, closing with the following words:

Since my last annual message the late President of the United States has fallen a victim to the most foul and base assassination

recorded in history. It will afford me pleasure, and I will heartily unite with you in any expression of indignation at the crime, and of appreciation of the public virtue and services of its victim, Abraham Lincoln.

My uniform course during the late war was to avoid the discussion of the policy of the general government, while giving a hearty support to the national authorities in all their measures to suppress the rebellion. I shall continue to pursue the same course during the embarrassments necessarily connected with the entire restoration of the country. The principles expressed in the messages of the President at the commencement of the session of Congress will receive my cordial support.

During the last five years the people of this State have suffered deeply from the calamities of war. Thousands of her men have been slain, and others are maimed and broken. Almost every family has been stricken, and everywhere there are widows and orphans, many of them helpless and in poverty. It is a subject of sincere congratulation that peace has at last returned.

I am not aware of the existence of any difficulty with other nations which may not be amicably adjusted, and therefore venture to express the hope that long years of tranquillity and happiness are before us.

At the close of that session, on the twelfth of April, the following resolutions unanimously passed the Senate and House of Representatives:

WHEREAS, The term of His Excellency, Andrew G. Curtin, as governor of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, will expire with the present year, and the Legislature of the State will not stand toward him in the relation of official courtesy and personal regard, which they have heretofore sustained;

AND WHEREAS, This House cannot contemplate his course during the recent struggle of our country, without admiration of the patriotism which made him one of the earliest, foremost and most constant of the supporters of the government, and without commendation of the spirit which has prompted him with untiring energy, and at the sacrifice of personal repose and health, to give to the soldier in the field and in the hospital, and to the cause for which the soldier fell and died, fullest sympathy and aid; be it

Resolved, That in the name of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, we tender to Governor Curtin our thanks for the fidelity with which, during the four years of war by which our country was

ravaged and its free institutions threatened, he stood by the national government, and cast into the scale of loyalty and the Union the honor, wealth and strength of the State.

Resolved, That by his devotion to his country, from the dark hour in which he pledged to the late lamented President of the United States the faith and steadfast support of our people, he has gained for his name an historic place and character, and while rendering himself deserving of the nation's gratitude, has added lustre to the fame and glory to the name of the commonwealth over which he has presided during two terms of office with so much ability, and in which he has tempered dignity with kindness, and won the high respect and confidence of the people.

Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and resolutions be communicated to His Excellency, the Governor.

Governor Curtin's last annual message to the Legislature, issued January, 1867, was a graphic and able review of the condition of the State and its prospects at that time. After disposing of various matters relating to State business, he reminded the law-making branch of the immense war expenditures, and stated that the State debt was then \$35,622,052.16. This seemed an enormous sum, but the Governor added these encouraging words: "By a careful attention to the revenues of the commonwealth, with such just and prudent changes as may be required in the future, and a wise economy in expenditures, we will be able to insure the entire payment of the public debt within a period of fifteen years." These prophetic words were almost fulfilled to the letter. This great debt has been practically wiped out years ago, and the great commonwealth over which he presided so successfully during the darkest period of her history is now doubly richer, more prosperous and independent than she was when he retired from office nearly thirty years ago.

But that portion of the message which was most gratifying to those who elected and re-elected Governor

Curtin, was where he referred to the great national question of that time. It showed that he possessed a broad and comprehensive mind, and rose to the height of the most exalted statesmanship in considering the problem of reconstruction. It is doubtful if a clearer and better presentation of the guilt of the rebel leaders, and the imperative duty of the people's representatives in regard to the seceded States, was ever laid before a legislative body.

The question had been raised whether the States lately in rebellion, and not yet restored to the privileges by Congress, were to be counted on this vote; *in other words, whether those who had rebelled and been subdued should be entitled to a potential vote in the question of the guarantees to be required of them for future obedience to the laws.* So monstrous a proposition was, it appeared to him, not supported by the words or spirit of the constitution. The power to suppress insurrection included the power of making provision against its breaking out afresh. Those States had made an unjust war upon the common government and their sister States, and the power given by the constitution to make war on our part included the power to dictate, after that success, the terms of peace and restoration.

The power of Congress to guarantee to every State a republican form of government would cover much more cogent action than had yet been had. The duty imposed upon Congress, to provide and maintain republican governments for the States, was to be accepted in the broadest meaning of the term. It was not a mere formal or unnecessary provision. The power was conferred, and the duty enjoined, to preserve free institutions against all encroachments, or the more violent

elements of despotism and monarchy. And *now*, that treason had, by rebellion, subverted the governments of a number of States, forfeiting for the people all the rights guaranteed by the constitution, including even those of property and life, the work of restoration for those States rested with the national government, and it should be faithfully and fearlessly performed.

By their passage by Congress, and the declaration of the people at the recent elections, the faith of the nation was pledged to the amendments, and they would be fairly carried out, and their benefits given to the rebellious States. But when the amendments have passed into the organic law, should the people lately in rebellion persist in their rejection, and in continued disobedience and the obstruction of the execution of the national laws, it would be an admonition to the nation that the *animus* and force still existed among a people who enjoyed none of the privileges of the government, save of its generous tolerance. *With their rejection, all hope of reconstruction, with the co-operation of the rebellious States, on a basis that would secure to the republic the logical results of the war, would have vanished*, and the duty must then devolve upon the government of adopting the most effectual method to secure for those States the character of governments demanded by the constitution. They were then without lawful governments, they were without municipal law, and without any claim to participate in the government.

On what principle of law or justice, continued the Governor, could the rebellious States complain if, after they had rejected the fair and magnanimous terms upon which they were offered brotherhood with us, and a participation in all the blessings of our freedom, and

they have refused, if the government, in the exercise of its powers, should enter anew upon the work of reconstruction at the very foundation ; *and then the necessity would be forced upon us to discard all discrimination in favor of the enemies of our nationality, to give us and them enduring freedom and impartial justice.*

The constitution had defined treason, and had given express power to suppress insurrection, by war, if necessary. It had not provided, in detail, the terms to be granted after such a war. How could it do so? It would probably not be contended by the wildest partisan that those States had a right to be represented in Congress at a time when they were carrying on open war against the government, or that Congress was not then a lawful body, notwithstanding their exclusion. *How, then, had they regained the right of representation? Surely not by simply laying down their arms when they could no longer hold them.* The United States had the right, and it was its duty, to exact such securities for future good conduct as they should deem sufficient, and the offenders, from whom they were to be exacted, could have no right to participate in our councils in the decision of the question of what their punishment should be.

This message of Governor Curtin was by many denominated the farewell address of a most excellent officer. It was the Governor's fortune to have been elected at a period when, although there were mutterings of treason, the foul venom of the opponents of the Union was concealed, and the great events which followed the exhibition of their malice had not then been anticipated. He entered upon his duties with the country still quiet, although there were premonitions of the storm—that it would pass over was the expectation

of the loyal, but very few were prepared for the exhibition of fury that followed. In the meantime, the governors were called upon to give their whole energies to the cause, and the leader among them all was Andrew Gregg Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania. Whatever mistakes, errors or deficiencies there were at the commencement, were rectified by time and experience, and throughout the whole of the contest of the civil war, Governor Curtin was able, energetic and patriotic. His own decision of character won the respect of the people, he was ever ready to suggest, ever ready to assist, and ever ready to act. In the support of the national government he was earnest and constant and he opened the hearts of the loyal by his firmness of purpose and by his effectual aid. Throughout the war Pennsylvania was immovable on the side of the Union, and history cannot record the events of these stirring times without according to Governor Curtin the meed for good deeds rightly done and for the maintenance of a hopeful demeanor in the most trying periods. He deserved well of the people and he had the satisfaction of taking with him upon his retirement from the executive chair, the good wishes and respect of a faithful people, over whose destinies it was his fortune through six eventful years to preside.

The last act of the Pennsylvania Legislature prior to adjournment, was the passage unanimously, of joint resolutions of thanks to Governor Curtin. No greater compliment was ever bestowed on an executive of the State, and of all the compliments he had received, both from the civil and military power, there were none of which he felt prouder, or which bespoke a higher appreciation of his eminent services to the commonwealth.

The members of each political party voted "aye" with great enthusiasm when the resolutions were introduced. They were submitted to the House by Mr. Rudiman, and in the Senate by Mr. Wallace, the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee. They are as follows :

Resolved, That in the name of the commonwealth we tender to Governor Curtin our thanks for the fidelity with which, during four years of war, by which our country was ravaged and its free institutions threatened, he stood by the national government, and cast into the scale of loyalty and the Union the honor, the wealth and the strength of the State.

Resolved, That by his devotion to his country from the dark hour in which he pledged to the late lamented President of the United States the faith and steadfast support of our people, he has gained for his name an historical place and character, and while rendering himself deserving of the nation's gratitude has added lustre to the fame, and glory to the name, of the commonwealth over which he has presided for two terms of office with so much ability, and in which he has tempered dignity with kindness, and won the high respect and confidence of the people.

Upon his retirement from office, bearing with him the commendation of his fellow citizens, President Johnson tendered him a foreign mission, but owing to the political attitude of the President on the question of reconstruction, Governor Curtin felt that he could not accept it without compromising his position before the people on the political issues then exciting so much attention, and he declined.

Returning to his home at Bellefonte, he turned his attention to the varied business interests to which, during an absence of six years, he had given but little heed. The mass of the people, however, felt that other honors were due to him, and, during the session of the Legislature in 1867 strenuous efforts were made to elect him to the United States Senate. His name was a watchword

with the soldier element of the people, but this seemed to have but little weight with the political demagogues who controlled the actions of the General Assembly of the State. The overwhelming sentiment of the people succumbed to base political strategy. So far as Governor Curtin was concerned, personally, he cared but little. He had reached in fact the zenith of his fame, and he preferred private life and the enjoyment of ease to the cares and duties of one in public position.

Looking back after a period of nearly a generation to the record of Governor Curtin as Chief Magistrate of Pennsylvania, little is thought of anything other than his public acts connected with the war, and with the care of the soldiers not only during the war but long after the conflict had ended. His achievements in the line of mere civil administration and matters relating to the greatest commonwealth of the Union, are so completely overshadowed by his record as the War Governor of the State, and the most distinguished of the war governors of the Union, that few pause to take note of the statesmanship that guided the great commonwealth through the sorest trials of her history, and maintained every department of her government and the prosperity of her people by the most intelligent and tireless devotion to all questions affecting them. He had about him as his cabinet, men of consummate ability. Eli Slifer was secretary of the commonwealth during the entire six years of his administration, and his fidelity and sagacity were of priceless value to the Governor. Quiet, unassuming and never conspicuous in the front of either counsel or conflict, his ability was recognized by all and devotion to his chief was sublime. Ex-Representative Purviance served one year in the office of attorney-

general, when he resigned to be succeeded by William M. Meredith, who for five years shed the richest lustre upon the legal department of the State. A. L. Russell was called to the responsible position of adjutant-general, and the military records are the most methodical and complete of any to be found in the archives of the State. When war came, Governor Curtin realized the fact that patriotism was confined to no party, and one of his first appointments was that of General Reuben C. Hale, a prominent Democrat, to the position of quartermaster general, and of James L. Reynolds of Lancaster, a brother of General Reynolds who fell at Gettysburg, to another important position in his administration. In appointing draft commissioners and surgeons in 1862 he appointed a Democrat and a Republican in every county of the State. He thus commanded not only the confidence of his own party but the confidence of the patriotic people of every faith, and in all his movements relating to mere State policy he was ever supported by the best men regardless of their political associations. This is abundantly testified to by the unexampled record of two legislatures, when Governor Curtin retired from office in 1867, and when he was appointed minister to Russia in 1869, passing by a unanimous vote recorded by yeas and nays, resolutions highly complimentary to him, to his administration, to his patriotism and to his high character. Thus ended the second administration of Governor Curtin, but continued honors were in store for him, as will be presented fully in the other chapters of this work.

SOLDIERS ORGANIZED BY CURTIN.

BY ROBERT E. PATTISON.

"History, void of truth, is an empty shadow."

Governor Curtin was inaugurated Tuesday, at noon, January 15, 1861. He entered upon the duties of the office of governor at the most critical period in the history of the country. That he appreciated the trying ordeal through which our country was to pass, is manifested in the closing paragraph of his inaugural :

I assume the duties of this high office at the most trying period of our national history. The public mind is agitated by fears, suspicions and jealousies. Serious apprehensions of the future pervade the people. A preconceived and organized effort has been made to disturb the stability of government, dissolve the union of the States and mar the symmetry and order of the noblest political structure ever devised and enacted by human wisdom. It shall be my earnest endeavor to justify the confidence which you have reposed in me and to deserve your approbation.

Upon February 22, 1861, Mr. Lincoln reached Harrisburg, *en route* to Washington. He was received by Governor Curtin and the Senate and House of Representatives. The Governor, in his address of welcome, moved by the spirit of patriotism which inspired the patriotic sentiments in his inaugural address, said to the President :

Sir: By act of our Legislature, we unfurled from the dome of the capitol, the flag of our country, carried there in the arms of men who defended the country when defence was needed. I assure you, sir, there is no star or stripe erased, and on its azure field there blazon forth thirty-four stars, the number of the bright constellation of States over which you are called by a free people, in a fair election, to preside. We trust, sir, that in the discharge of your high office, you may reconcile the unhappy differences now existing, as they have heretofore been reconciled.



EX-GOVERNOR ROBERT E. PATTISON.

Mr. Lincoln left Harrisburg on the evening of the twenty-second of February and returned by a special train to Philadelphia, and from thence direct to Baltimore and Washington.

In a message to the Legislature, dated April 9, 1861, the Governor called attention to the condition of the military organizations of the State. He wrote :

It is scarcely necessary to say more than that the militia system of the State, during a long period distinguished by the pursuits of peaceful industry exclusively, has become wholly inefficient, and the interference of the Legislature is required to remove its deficits, and to render it useful and available to the public service.

Many of our volunteer companies do not possess the number of men required by our militia law, and steps should be forthwith taken to supply these deficiencies. There are numerous companies, too, that are without the necessary arms ; and of the arms that are distributed, but few are provided with the more modern appliances to render them serviceable.

I recommend, therefore, that the Legislature make immediate provision for the removal of these capital defects ; that arms be procured and distributed to those of our citizens who may enter into the military service of the State ; and that steps be taken to change the guns already distributed, by the adoption of such well-known and tried improvements as will render them effective in the event of their employment in actual service.

In this connection, I recommend the establishment of a military bureau at the capital ; and that the militia laws of the commonwealth be so modified and amended as to impart to the military organization of the State, the vitality and energy essential to its practical value and usefulness.

Animated by such sentiments, the Governor entered upon the preparations for the great struggle which was impending for the preservation of the Union, in which Pennsylvania was to have the post of honor in forwarding the first troops to the assistance of the government at Washington and tendering to it the first organized body of men. His was no easy task. At the outset he

was confronted with a feeble and inefficient military organization. Indeed, the whole number of organized volunteer companies in the State at the beginning of his administration was about five hundred, averaging about forty men to a company, making an aggregate of 20,000 uniformed volunteers. The entire military force of the State was about 355,000 men, capable of military duty. The arms of the State were all in the possession of the volunteer companies and comprised 12,080 muskets; 4706 rifles; 2809 cavalry swords and sabres, 3147 pistols, 69 pieces of ordnance—being six-pound bronze cannon. Of these only about 2500 muskets were of the new model, and 1200 improved rifles and 500 cavalry swords. The balance was unfit for active service, being mostly of the heavy, old flint-lock. The State had but 4200 effective small arms. No arms were furnished to the militia by the State itself; all that were issued to the militia, were furnished by the United States to Pennsylvania.

A bill for the improvement of the military service of the State, by a reorganization of the militia, was passed by the Legislature on the night of the twelfth of April, 1861, its purpose being to make more effective the organization and to aid the national government in the preparation for the safety of the republic.

The first official dispatch on record which Governor Curtin received, announcing the beginning of hostilities, was from J. Morris Harding, and dated :

PHILADELPHIA, April 12, 1861.

To Governor Curtin :

The war is commenced. The batteries began firing at four o'clock this morning. Major Anderson replied and a brisk cannonading commenced. This is reliable and has just come to the Associated Press. The vessels were not in sight.

Governor Curtin had gone to Washington to offer aid and assistance to the national government. On the thirteenth of April, 1861, Governor Dennison, by dispatch from Columbus, Ohio, congratulated Pennsylvania on her patriotism and promptness, reciting, "Ohio will not prove less loyal. Our military organization perfected."

From Washington, April 15, 1861, Governor Curtin telegraphed to the Hon. Eli Slifer :

Accept all military organizations offered. Our services will be required immediately. I will be home to-morrow night.

This was followed by a dispatch, on the same date, from Colonel A. K. McClure, addressed to Secretary Slifer :

Saw President, Scott and Cameron. Appropriation is ample. Government has 300,000 first-class arms and will arm and equip all the men. A requisition is made upon Pennsylvania for 13,000 men. Two regiments are wanted within three days.

These dispatches came over the wires about the time of the President's proclamation, calling upon the militia of the several States for 75,000 men. How this was responded to in Pennsylvania the following dispatches disclose, and at this time they afford extremely interesting reading. A few of them will not be out of place here.

PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1861.

To his Excellency, A. G. Curtin :

I respectfully offer you the services of my company, the Washington Blues of Philadelphia.

Captain J. M. GASLINE.

PITTSBURG, April 15, 1861.

To Governor A. G. Curtin :

In the absence of the captain, R. P. McDowell, I, the first lieutenant of the company, report said company ready to march.

G. W. DAWSON, First Lieutenant State Guards, Allegheny City.

CHAMBERSBURG, April 15, 1861.

To Eli Slifer :

If aided in uniforms, eight hundred to one thousand men, I will report in person to-morrow evening.

F. S. STAMBAUGH, Colonel First Regiment.

PITTSBURG, April 15, 1861.

To his Excellency, Governor Curtin :

In accordance with your letter fifth January, I report First Pennsylvania Zouaves ready for service.

Captain JAMES GARARD.

PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1861.

To his Excellency, A. G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania :

Will you accept a company of horse to be raised by me in Elk and McKean counties? I can leave here to-night and bring down my men in a week. My offer of service is unconditional.

THOMAS L. KANE.

POTTSVILLE, April 15, 1861.

To his Excellency, Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania :

We tender to you, sir, the services of this company of infantry.

JAMES WREN, Captain Washington Artillery.

PITTSBURG, April 16, 1861.

To Eli Slifer :

Ten companies will be ready to march to-morrow ; others soon after. I have requested all the battalions and regiments to report themselves to me, reserving the right to organize them according to military rules. Shall I have them sworn into service? Companies partly uniformed. Shall I have their uniforms completed immediately at the least expense? I await special orders.

JAMES S. NEGLEY, Brigadier General.

LEWISTOWN, April 16, 1861.

To Hon. Eli Slifer :

We have the requisite number of men and will be down to-night. Have quarters ready.

J. B. SELHEIMER.

LEWISTOWN, April 16, 1861.

To Governor Curtin :

Command my services in any way to support and defend the Government of the United States and the honor of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM H. IRWIN.

POTTSVILLE, April 16, 1861.

To Hon. Eli Slifer :

The Washington Artillery and National Light Infantry will be at Harrisburg to-morrow night by Lebanon Valley Railroad with fifty men each.

Captain JAMES WREN,
Captain EDWARD McDONALD.

SCHUYLKILL HAVEN, April 16, 1861.

To Governor A. G. Curtin :

The Marion Rifle Company, First Brigade, Sixth Division, U. P. M., at Port Carbon, offer their services to the government.

J. K. SIEGFRIED, Major.

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1861.

To Hon. A. G. Curtin :

The First Regiment, under Colonel Lewis, and well tried officers, are anxious to hear your command for services. All loyal and to be depended upon in any emergency. Take my word for it.

Your campaign friend,

CHARLES H. T. COLLIS.

ALLENTOWN, April 17, 1861.

To the Hon. Eli Slifer :

I have a full company ready at a moment's notice. I consider myself in service. Answer.

Captain T. H. GOOD.

PHILADELPHIA, April 18, 1861.

To Governor A. G. Curtin :

I want George B. McClellan as chief engineer for the Pennsylvania troops, with the rank his merit and services justify. Send General Hale at once, and if possible come yourself. Important matters require personal conference. I am anxious that Pennsylvania should not be behind other States in anything.

R. PATTERSON, Major General.

SCRANTON, April 18, 1861.

To R. C. Hale :

The Wyoming Artillerists, Captain Emley, have left for Harrisburg this morning, numbering forty men ; twenty more of the company go to-morrow. Other companies will leave to-morrow or next day.

A. N. MEYLERT.

MIFFLIN, April 21, 1861.

To T. A. Scott :

I shall pass on of course and join Porter, God and the Union.

T. W. SHERMAN.

HARRISBURG, April 21, 1861.

General Patterson, Philadelphia :

I approve your suggestion in regard to General McClellan heartily, and will give him a commission.

A. G. CURTIN.

HARRISBURG, April 21, 1861.

A. K. McClure, Chambersburg, Pa. :

Organize at once a line of mounted messengers between Harper's Ferry or some point on the border that can give speedy information of the movements of armed forces of the enemy. See to this at once.

A. G. CURTIN.

HOLLIDAYSBURG, April 23, 1861.

A. G. Curtin :

The Allegheny Cavalry of Blair County is at your service. Please answer.

Captain W. J. HAMILTON.

CHESTER, April 23, 1861.

To Governor A. G. Curtin :

My company is filled up waiting orders from you.

W. S. GRUBB, Captain.

PHILADELPHIA, April 23, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

We are on hand and enlisted for the *war* wherever you choose to put us.

BROOKS.

ERIE, April 23, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin :

This moment our streets swarming with volunteers just arrived via O. & E. R. R. Erie is wild with enthusiasm.

Colonel J. W. McLANE.

COLUMBUS, O., April 24, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Have accepted command of Ohio troops.

G. B. McCLELLAN.

PHILADELPHIA, April 25, 1861.

Governor Curtin and T. A. Scott :

Have just received the following dispatch from McClellan from Columbus: "Never received any offer from Governor Curtin until to-night. Accepted command of Ohio troops two days ago and am actively engaged organizing them. Can now best help Pennsylvania by bringing my command to its assistance."

E. C. BIDDLE.

While the patriots from every valley and hillside in Pennsylvania were pouring in their offers of services to their patriotic Governor, provision was being made for their care while in the field, and offers to advance money came on every side from the financial institutions of the State, as indicated by the following dispatches :

PITTSBURG, April 16, 1861.

To Hon. John Covode, Washington :

The bank officers have agreed to respond to a call from the government for money to maintain the constitution and the laws.

JOHN SCOTT.

PHILADELPHIA, April 17, 1861.

His Excellency, Governor Curtin :

The Commercial Bank will advance \$50,000 to the State if required.

S. D. JONES, President.

PHILADELPHIA, April 18, 1861.

To Governor A. G. Curtin :

Our directors have authorized me to place at the disposal of the commonwealth, \$100,000 should you require it.

D. B. CUMMINGS, President.

PHILADELPHIA, April 19, 1861.

To Governor Curtin :

The directors of the Union Bank have just resolved to subscribe \$20,000 to the new State loan. Respectfully,

JAMES DUNLAP, President.

These dispatches are but the expression of loyalty and patriotism which stirred the hearts of the people of Pennsylvania.

Our State not only furnished promptly its assigned quota of fourteen regiments, under the President's call, but increased the number to twenty-five. Indeed the service of about thirty additional regiments had to be refused. Pennsylvania was prepared to furnish more than one-half of the requisition of the President.

Within four days after the call, she had placed at the national capital, 600 men—the first to arrive for its

defence—and ten days later the entire twenty-five regiments were organized and in the field.

To make the work more effective, on the eighteenth of April, 1861, Camp Curtin was formed at Harrisburg, and at this point all of the militia from the northern and western and southern portions of the State were organized. There, eight regiments originally from Philadelphia, date their organization.

To perfect the organizations, as the troops volunteered, the War Department, by an order from the Adjutant General's office, dated Washington, April 15, 1861, detailed officers to muster into the service of the United States, the troops called out by the President's proclamation of this date. They were directed to repair to the rendezvous designated and report their arrival to the Adjutant General of the army, and to the governors of the respective States, and to execute the duties assigned them with as little delay as practicable, reporting the progress and completion of their labors to the Adjutant General of the army direct.

As the result of this order, Major C. F. Ruff, R. M. R., and Captain Henry Heth, Tenth Infantry, were detailed to rendezvous at Philadelphia; Captain S. G. Simmons, Seventh Infantry, and Captain D. H. Hastings, of the First Dragoons, at Harrisburg.

On the same date the Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, addressed Governor Curtin as follows:

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, April 15, 1861.

Sir: Under the act of Congress "for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, repel invasions, etc.," approved February 28, 1795, I have the honor to request your excellency to cause to be immediately detached from the militia of your State the quota designated in the table below, to serve as infantry or riflemen for the period of three months, unless sooner discharged.

Your excellency will please communicate to me the time at or about which your quota will be expected at its rendezvous, as it will be met as soon as practicable by an officer or officers to muster it into the service and pay of the United States. At the same time the oath of fidelity to the United States will be administered to every officer and man.

The mustering officer will be instructed to receive no man, under the rank of commissioned officer, who is in years apparently over forty-five or under eighteen, or who is not in physical strength and vigor.

TABLE OF QUOTAS.

Pennsylvania : 2 major generals ; 4 aides-de-camp to major generals, (major) ; 2 division inspectors (lieutenant colonel) ; 4 brigadier generals ; 4 aides to brigadier generals (captains) ; 4 brigade inspectors, (majors) ; 16 regiments ; 16 colonels ; 16 lieutenant colonels ; 16 majors ; 16 adjutants (lieutenant) ; 16 regimental quartermasters (lieutenant) ; 16 surgeons ; 16 surgeon's mates ; 16 sergeant majors ; 16 drum majors ; 16 fife majors ; 160 captains ; 160 lieutenants ; 160 ensigns ; 640 sergeants ; 640 corporals ; 160 drummers ; 160 fifers ; 10,240 privates ; 612, total of officers ; 11,888, total of men ; 12,500, aggregate.

The rendezvous for your State will be at Philadelphia and Harrisburg, Pa.

The next day Governor Curtin received the following letter :

WAR DEPARTMENT, April 16, 1861.

Sir: The President has modified the requisition made on you for troops from Pennsylvania, so as to make it *fourteen* instead of *sixteen* regiments. You are, under this modified requisition, entitled to 2 major generals, 4 aides, 2 division inspectors, 3 brigadier generals, 3 aides, 3 brigade inspectors, 14 colonels, 14 lieutenant colonels, 14 adjutants, 14 quartermasters, 14 surgeons, 14 surgeon's mates, 14 sergeant majors, 14 drum majors, 14 fife majors, 140 captains, 140 lieutenants, 140 ensigns, 560 sergeants, 560 corporals, 140 drummers, 140 fifers, and 8960 privates.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

His Excellency, Andrew G. Curtin,

Governor of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg.

This communication was followed by a general order from the War Department, dated Adjutant General's Office, May 4, 1861 :

GENERAL ORDERS. }
 No. 15. }

The President of the United States having called for a volunteer force to aid in the enforcement of the laws and the suppression of insurrection, and to consist of thirty-nine regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry, making a minimum aggregate of thirty-four thousand five hundred and six officers and enlisted men, and a maximum aggregate of forty-two thousand and thirty-four officers and enlisted men, the following plan of organization has been adopted, and is directed to be printed for general information :

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION.

6. *Recapitulation.*

	Minimum.	Maximum.
39 Regiments of Infantry	33,774	40,794
1 Regiment of Cavalry	660	1,168
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	34,434	41,962
Brigade Staff	60	60
Division Staff	12	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	34,506	42,034

By order :

L. THOMAS, Adjutant General.

WAR DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, May 22, 1861.

Governor Andrew G. Curtin, Harrisburg.

Dear Sir: By reference to General Orders, No. 15 of the War Department, a printed copy of which I herewith forward you, giving the plan of organization of the volunteer forces, called into the service of the United States by the President, you will perceive that all regimental officers of these volunteers, from colonels down to second lieutenants inclusive, are appointed by governors of States.

Having thus confided to you the appointment of all these officers for the regiments furnished by your State, you will, I trust, excuse this Department for impressing upon you, in advance, the necessity of an absolute adherence, in your appointments, to the following suggestions, which are deemed of the highest importance by the General-in-Chief, under whose advice they are submitted to you :

1. To commission no one of doubtful morals or patriotism and not of sound health.

2. To appoint no one to a lieutenancy (second or first) who has passed the age of 22 years, or to a captaincy over 30 years, and to appoint no field officers (major, lieutenant colonel, colonel) unless a graduate of the United States Military Academy, or known to possess

military knowledge and experience, who has passed the respective ages of 35, 40, 45 years.

This department feels assured that it will not be deemed offensive to your Excellency to add yet this general counsel, that the higher the moral character and general intelligence of the officers so appointed, the greater the efficiency of the troops, and the resulting glory to their respective States.

I am, sir, respectfully,

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

On April 24, General Patterson received the following dispatch from F. J. Porter, A. A. G. :

Lieutenant General Scott orders you at once to accept the services of a loyal and efficient force and secure to the government the forts on the Delaware.

This was followed by a dispatch dated Harrisburg, April 24, 1861, from Governor Curtin to General Patterson, Philadelphia :

It is all-important that ample protection should at once be given to the waters of the Delaware, also that wagons, equipments and supplies for Washington should be thrown into the capital at once by means of wagon roads, if railroad from Annapolis is destroyed, as we learn it is. In order to effect all these matters, I will aid you with all the authority and means under my control.

Answer immediately what you desire.

This dispatch was followed by a letter from Headquarters, Military Department at Washington, dated April 26, 1861 :

To his Excellency, A. G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania.

Sir : I feel it my duty to express to you my clear and decided opinion that the force at the disposal of this department should be increased without delay. I, therefore, have to request your Excellency to direct that twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry be called forthwith to be mustered into the service of the United States.

Officers will be detailed to inspect and muster these men into service as soon as I am informed of the points of rendezvous that may be designated by your Excellency. I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

R. PATTERSON, Major General.

On April 25, 1861, the following dispatches were sent by Governor Curtin :

HARRISBURG, April 25, 1861.

Heister Clymer, Reading :

Cannot now accept company. Our quota is full. Expect requisition for more troops from War Department very soon. Have filed the application. Number of men necessary for company is seventy-seven. Let them organize and drill.

A. G. CURTIN.

HARRISBURG, April 25, 1861.

John Cessna, Bedford :

I cannot accept any more companies, our quota is full, until further orders are received from the War Department, which I expect will be very soon. The offer is filed.

A. G. CURTIN.

HARRISBURG, April 25, 1861.

Captain J. H. Filler, Huntingdon :

I cannot receive your company, our quota is full. It will not do for you to come down ; have no place for you.

A. G. CURTIN.

On April 30, 1861, the Governor wrote to the Secretary of War as follows :

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

Sir : I received this evening the following telegram from General R. Patterson, in reply to one directing him to accept a certain regiment :

“ PHILADELPHIA.

“ *To Governor A. G. Curtin :*

“ Have no authority to receive Colonel Einstein's regiment. The contingent called for by the Governor has already been exceeded, and I can take no more.”

Shortly after receiving the above telegram, Captain Simmons informed me that he had been instructed by Major Porter to stop mustering troops, having more than was called for. On referring to copy of General R. Patterson's letter of April 26, 1861, herewith sent, you will note that I was called upon distinctly “ for twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry.”

In pursuance of this call, preparations have been made to raise the additional regiments, the companies are ready to march, many of them are on their way and heavy expenses have been incurred by the people of the State.

To publish this order of Major Porter will create intense excitement throughout the State, and materially injure the cause, and destroy the public confidence in the administration.

I, therefore, most respectfully protest against this act of Major Porter, and rely on an immediate order being sent to General Patterson instructing him to receive the twenty-five additional regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, as per his letter of the twenty-sixth of April.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
A. G. CURTIN.

On May 1, 1861, Governor Curtin telegraphed to General Patterson :

Your letter of the twenty-sixth of April distinctly requires twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. Your dispatch to-night seems to conflict with it. Please explain this evening.

On May 6, Governor Curtin telegraphed to the Secretary of War :

I received your dispatch. General Patterson anticipated you by the countermand of his order for twenty-five additional regiments.

It would be well for me to understand how authority is divided so that we can move with certainty and the ardor of the people of this State should not be again cooled by changes. I will be guided by my powers under the constitution, and as thus directed, will obey the orders of the federal government. Pennsylvania will answer to any requisition made on her.

This telegram was followed by a letter, dated May 14, 1861, addressed to Governor Curtin, from the War Department, by the Secretary of War :

Enclosed herewith you will find the plan for the organization of the volunteers for three years' service.

Ten regiments are assigned to Pennsylvania, making, in addition to the thirteen regiments of three months' militia, already called for, twenty-three regiments. It is important to reduce, rather than to enlarge this number, and in no event to exceed it. Let me earnestly recommend to you therefore to call for no more than twenty-

three regiments, of which only ten are to serve during the war and if more are already called for, to reduce the number by discharge.

In making up the quota of three years' men, you will please act in concert with Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Porter, who will represent this department, and so far as possible, make it up by taking in preference, regiments already offered for three months, having, of course, due regard to a fair distribution of the forces among the different portions of the State.

If it should be agreeable to your Excellency, it would be especially gratifying to this department, to have some of those regiments offered for three years' service, from Allegheny and other western counties, including the "Wild Cat" district, brought into service under the quota for your State.

Five days after the President's proclamation for the call of 75,000 troops, Governor Curtin convened the Legislature and fixed the day for the meeting of the General Assembly, Tuesday, the thirtieth day of April, 1861.

The proclamation recited in the preamble, the condition of the armed rebellion, which threatened the destruction of the national government, and the inadequate provision of the military power of the State, and concluded with a recommendation for the adoption of such measures, as the exigency demanded. Upon the assembling of the Legislature, he addressed both houses in a message which was characterized by bold and manly sentiments for the preservation of the Union and the maintenance of the honor of the State in the crisis.

This document was the first laid before any of the legislative bodies of any of the loyal States, referring to the conditions which prevailed throughout the country. It attracted much attention and gave the tone to the messages from the executives in the other loyal States.

In referring to the military organization he said :

Anticipating that more troops would be required than the number originally called for, I continued to receive companies until we had

raised twenty-three regiments in Pennsylvania, all of which have been mustered into the service of the United States. In this anticipation I was not mistaken. On Saturday last, an additional requisition was made upon me for twenty-five regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry; and there have been already more companies tendered than will make up the entire complement.

Before the regiments could be clothed, three of them were ordered by the national government to proceed from this point to Philadelphia. I cannot too highly commend the patriotism and devotion of the men who, at a moment's warning and without any preparation, obeyed the order. Three of the regiments, under similar circumstances, by direction of, and accompanied by, officers of the United States army, were transported to Cockeysville, near Baltimore, at which point they remained for two days, and until, by directions of the general government they were ordered back and went into camp at York, where there are now five regiments. Three regiments mustered into service are now encamped at Chambersburg under orders from the general government, and five regiments are now encamped at this place, and seven have been organized and mustered into service at Philadelphia.

The regiments at this place are still supplied by the Commissary Department of the State. Their quarters are as comfortable as could be expected, their supply of provisions abundant, and under the instruction of competent officers they are rapidly improving in military knowledge and skill.

I have made arrangements to clothe all our regiments with the utmost dispatch consistent with a proper economy, and am most happy to say that before the close of the present week all our people now under arms will be abundantly supplied with good and appropriate uniforms, blankets and other clothing.

Four hundred and sixty of our volunteers, the first to reach Washington from any of the States, are now at that city; these are now provided for by the general government, but I design to send them clothing at the earliest possible opportunity.

I have established a camp at Pittsburg, at which the troops from western Pennsylvania will be mustered into service and organized and disciplined by skillful and experienced officers.

We know that many of our people have already left the State in the service of the general government, and that many more must follow. We have a long line of border on States seriously disaffected, which should be protected. To furnish ready support to those who have gone out, and to protect our borders we should have a well-regulated military force. I, therefore, recommend the imme-

diate organizing, disciplining and arming of at least fifteen regiments of cavalry and infantry, exclusive of those called into the service of the United States, as we have already ample warning of the necessity of being prepared for any sudden exigency that may arise. I cannot too much impress this point upon you.

On May 2, the Governor sent a special message to the Legislature and referring to his communication of the thirtieth of April, he had the honor to say, "that a requisition had been made upon him for twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry for the service of the national government, and as that order was countermanded by a telegraphic dispatch on the evening of the thirtieth ultimo, and by a written order received this morning from Major General Patterson, I feel it to be my duty to lay the matter before you for consideration.

"The first order made upon me for the federal government was for sixteen regiments of infantry, which, by a subsequent order, was reduced to fourteen. That order was filled immediately, and I continued to receive companies for the reasons assigned in my message of April 30, until twenty-three regiments were mustered into the service of the United States." The order from Major General Patterson of the twenty-fifth of April was the order quoted above.

The Governor then says he "commenced immediately to raise the additional force; and a large number of companies were accepted from different parts of the State and from which we had taken companies to fill the first requisition. Many of the companies are here and on their way to this rendezvous, and Camp Wilkins at Pittsburg.

"The officer of the United States Army detailed to muster companies into the service at Pittsburg has been

withdrawn, and no more companies will be mustered into the service at the different points of rendezvous established by the government in this State."

The letter from Major General Patterson, rescinding the order for additional regiments, has already been referred to, and is dated April 30, 1861.

In order to ascertain the terms and conditions upon which the Pennsylvania quota, under the call of the general government, was admitted to the service, Governor Curtin directed interrogatories to the War Department upon the subject, to which the Secretary of War, Hon. Simon Cameron, responded under date of April 29, 1861, as follows :

In answer to the queries propounded by you to this department, and presented by O. J. Dickey, Esq., I have the honor to reply:

First. That the quota of militia from Pennsylvania cannot be increased at present, but the President has authorized the raising of twenty-five regiments of volunteers to serve for three years, or during the war. Under this call one or two additional regiments on the condition stated will be accepted from Pennsylvania.

Second. The soldiers, as soon as mustered into the service, are provided for by the United States.

Third. Camp equipage is always supplied by the United States; but being unable to do so as rapidly as needed, would recommend your State to do so, and present bill for same; clothing is sometimes issued to volunteers, but at present we have not the supplies for that purpose. It is, however, being prepared as rapidly as possible. The soldier receives a monthly allowance for clothing in addition to his pay.

Fourth. This is fully answered above.

Fifth. The law provides pay as transportation from place of rendezvous to place of muster.

Sixth. Not knowing the wants of the troops, it is difficult to answer this query. Arms and equipments are furnished by the United States. Should the troops be in immediate want of clothing or equipment, and the State cannot furnish them, the United States Government will reimburse the expense in doing so, but, being out of the regular order of furnishing supplies, this department could not, of course, direct that it should be done, but recommend it.

Seventh. The department has no regular form of voucher for the purpose deemed. Any form that will specify the items in such detail as to enable the matter to be passed upon, will be sufficient.

Eighth. In consequence of the numerous resignations in the army the department does not feel at liberty, at present, to detail any officers to the duty indicated.

I hope the foregoing answers will be sufficiently full and satisfactory for your purpose.

The special message concludes with repeating the opinion of the necessity of immediate organization and equipment of at least fifteen regiments, as had already been recommended in the message of April 30, 1861. By his prompt action and untiring energy, within a month, Governor Curtin succeeded in organizing, officering, and mustering twenty-four regiments, besides the Scott Legion in the city of Philadelphia. Under the first call of the President, these organizations of Pennsylvania represented 20,979 three-months men.

Men of military experience will appreciate the magnitude of this work. He was almost without sufficient military co-operation and counsel. In less than a month, however, with the Legislature adjourned, he was able to rally the strong force about him; he organized encampments, prepared for the provisioning and clothing of troops, and with a thousand innumerable details accompanying such an effort, placed this army at the immediate disposal of the general government.

On the twenty-third of May, 1861, Governor Curtin received from Governor Washburn, of Maine, a letter of inquiry, requesting information, "Whether your State is raising more regiments or companies than have been called for by the President, under the requisition and call of April and May, and if so, how many, and what you propose to do with them.

“It seems to me, that prudence and a wise forecast dictate that troops should be raised and put under discipline and instruction in all the loyal States, ready to march at a moment’s notice. If you are raising troops to be kept in reserve and under discipline, what are you doing in the way of uniforming and equipping them? How many of your regiments have already been accepted by the United States? An early answer will greatly oblige me.”

In response to this inquiry Governor Curtin replied, several days later, as follows :

It affords me pleasure to enclose to you a copy of an act of Assembly approved May 15, 1861, which will fully answer your interrogatories. I have under the provision of that act appointed Major General George A. McCall, late inspector general United States army, to the command, who is proceeding to organize, arm and equip fifteen regiments. They are being thrown into camps as rapidly as possible after inspection and will be drilled for three months unless sooner required by the general government. It is hoped that in this way a large and available force will be always in readiness, either for the defence of the State, or to answer the further requisitions of the Government of the United States; they will be, so far as we are able to do so, uniformed in accordance with the United States regulations.

Prior to the passage of this act, twenty-five regiments had already been accepted by the United States through me, and one regiment by the War Department direct, together with one or two companies also by direct order.

I entirely concur with your Excellency in the wisdom and prudence of your suggestion in relation to the indispensable necessities of raising and equipping and having thoroughly disciplined and instructed a State force, and in pursuance of the same view and in accordance with the same design shall urge forward under the command of the accomplished officer named, the necessary arrangements to place the troops in fine condition.

These men are mustered in for three years and will, if necessary, be in readiness to take the place of those who are discharged at the end of three months, and should the public exigency seem to require it, as I much fear it will, they will all be detained in camp until

the fall of the year, and thus thoroughly drilled and organized, will form a valuable addition to the army for whatever decisive action may be deemed necessary at that time.

Uniting with you in commendation of the patriotism and loyalty of the people of the Northern States, and in admiration of the devotion to our institutions which has so rapidly filled our armies, State and national, with the flower of the young men of our country, my fervent prayer is that after this rebellion shall have been effectually put down we will be enabled to transmit the blessings of a free, united and powerful government.

At this date some questions of authority arose between the authorities at Washington and Harrisburg, as indicated in the following correspondence. Under date of June 25, 1861, John A. Wright, aide, writes to Governor Curtin :

I had an interview with General S. Cameron, Secretary of War, this morning.

He declines taking any action in the matter of mustering in three-months men into the three years' service to fill up requisition on you for ten or thirteen regiments, preferring to await the action of Congress, which meets on the fourth of July next.

He would accept at once the fifteen regiments of your Reserve Corps if made up to the maximum in accordance with General Orders, No. 15, but positively declines, from want of authority, to accept any officer higher than colonel, as indicated in that order.

He does not desire you to prepare, but recommends your procuring tents and necessary camp equipage.

General Cameron desires an immediate answer whether your fifteen (15) regiments of reserve volunteer corps will be offered on condition specified.

Accompanying this letter was one signed by Mr. Wright, marked "unofficial: "

Dear Sir: I send you herewith report of an interview with General Cameron, which is decisive, and on which you will have to act.

General Cameron thinks he has taken responsibility enough, and will await action of Congress; he thinks if three-months men go home, they will, in a short time when another call is made, be the more anxious to re-enlist.

As to taking your major general and brigadier, says he would not

do it, if General Jackson was the major general. As to this point he seems absolutely positive on the ground of having no authority to do so; though at the same time spoke favorably of McCall and Biddle.

This leaves you in position of twenty-five regiments disbanded at end of three months' service, and fifteen regiments on your hand, refused by Secretary of War, unless on the condition stated and no representation in the army of the United States. However General Cameron intends recommending a large increase in the army, and under it, if ordered by Congress, we will of course have a representation. This may be or not before the disbandment of our present forces. My impression is the departments here have scarcely any defined plan for the future, and cannot have until the action of Congress.

The refusal to take your major and brigadier generals is not peculiar to Pennsylvania, but the necessity has been forced on them on account of the pressure from nearly all the States to force all kinds of men on the government.

I send you copy of enclosed letter by telegraph—General Cameron desiring an immediate answer, saying he is holding back from accepting regiments until this matter is definitely settled with you. You had better telegraph General Cameron as soon as you receive this, deciding at once what you will do.

To make a résumé, the case stands, if you accept the offer, the major and brigadier generals are left on your hand, and the twenty-five regiments disbanded at end of three months' service, and you have fifteen regiments in service. If you refuse the offer, you have the fifteen regiments on hand, well officered, and twenty-five regiments disbanded—unless they may be affected by action of Congress.

I read my official letter to you of this date to General Cameron, and he approves it; I will await your answer. Telegraph me at same time you answer Cameron. In this state of things, there is of course no use talking about clothing, tents or wagons. But if the fifteen regiments go into United States service the United States will provide wagons, and you are desired to procure tents and necessary camp equipage.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN A. WRIGHT.

Washington, June 25, 1861.

Governor Curtin, on August 15, 1861, addressed Mr. Lincoln as follows:

Sir: The government of Pennsylvania is and has been earnestly desirous of doing its full duty to the commonwealth and the country. It has done and will continue to do everything in its power to fulfill its requisitions and facilitate the operations of the Government of the United States, without presuming to criticise or find fault even when they may appear to be irregular or indiscreet. What I am about to say will therefore not be understood as said in the way of complaint, but merely for the purpose of calling attention to some arrangements, the effect of which has probably been overlooked by the authorities at Washington.

It appears clearly from the acts of Congress of twenty-second and twenty-fifth July last, that the President has power to accept volunteers, otherwise than through the State authorities, only in case where those authorities refuse or omit to furnish volunteers at his call or on his proclamation. The act of Assembly of Pennsylvania, of fifteenth May last, contains, among others, a provision "that it shall not be lawful for any volunteer soldier to leave this commonwealth as such, unless he shall have been first accepted by the Governor of this State upon a call under a requisition of the President of the United States made upon the governor direct for troops for the service of the United States." Thus Congress and the State Legislature appear to be agreed on the inexpediency of attempting the formation of volunteer organizations simultaneously under this control of different heads, and on the propriety of leaving such organizations to be formed under the requisitions of the President by the State authorities.

Notwithstanding this common action of Congress and the State Legislature, a course has been pursued by the Government of the United States which is not in accordance with it, and which has already produced much embarrassment and must tend greatly to retard the fulfillment of the objects of the government.

On the twenty-sixth day of July last a requisition was made on the executive of this State for ten regiments of infantry, in addition to the forty-four regiments already furnished, twenty-five of which had been called for three months' service and had been discharged on the expiration of their time. Active measures were immediately taken to comply with requisition, but unfortunately the Government of the United States went on to authorize individuals to raise regiments of volunteers in this State. Fifty-eight individuals received authority for this purpose in Pennsylvania. The direct authority of the Government of the United States having been thus set in competition with that of the State acting under its requisitions, the consequence has been much embarrassment, delay and confusion. It

has happened in one instance that more than twenty men in one company brought here as volunteers under the State call for the United States have been induced to abandon that service and join one of the regiments directly authorized by the United States. In other cases companies ready to march and whose transportation had been provided were successfully interfered with in like manner (the enclosed letter from —— is but a sample of many of like character that have been received), as the call of the State is for the service of the United States, no military obligation can be imposed on the men until they are mustered into the service of the United States, and there are, therefore, no means of preventing them from joining independent regiments or even deserting their colors entirely. The few mustering officers that can be found have refused to muster in less than a whole regiment of infantry. Part of these evils, it is understood from a telegraph dispatch received to-day, will be alleviated by a general order from the War Department, which was suggested by me yesterday. Still there remains the great evil of the unavoidable clashing of two authorities attempting, at the same time, to effect the same object among the same people, through different and competing agencies. The result is what might have been expected, that after the lapse of twenty-six days not one entire regiment has been raised in Pennsylvania since the last requisition.

There are fragments of some seventy regiments, but not one complete. Yet men enough have been raised to form thirty complete regiments, and if the State had been left to fulfill its duties in accordance with the act of Congress and of Assembly referred to, it is confidently believed that the ten regiments called for on the twenty-sixth July last, would, by this time, have been fully raised.

That the course thus pursued is in violation of the law, both of the United States and of Pennsylvania, is a consideration not unworthy of notice; at the same time the executive of this State will leave the authorities of the United States to construe their own law, and so far as regards the law of Pennsylvania will take the responsibility of disobeying it rather than fail in any effort that may be required to array her military force in the present emergency in such a manner as the Government of the United States may point out; and the executive in so doing will rely on the Legislature to ratify his act, dictated as they are by an earnest desire to aid the Government of the United States promptly and effectively, without stopping to discuss the legality of any form in which that aid may be demanded; but when the law is so clearly in accordance with true policy and expediency it is hoped that the Government of the United States will adhere to it. At all events it is earnestly suggested that

the double system which has been adopted can lead to nothing but continued embarrassment and confusion, and that it would be better to rely exclusively either on requisition on the State government or on the authority given to individuals. It is also suggested that it would be expedient to make requisitions on the State for companies and not for regiments under the act of Congress of twenty-second July last; the President has authority to form them into regiments, and the field officers could then be appointed by the Governor in accordance with the same act. Some of the advantages to be derived from this course are, (1) that men enlist more readily when they know that they are to enter on active service without delay; (2) that they would have the benefit of drill by officers of the United States, and in their camps in direct contact with troops already drilled, instead of being kept in temporary camps during the time requisite for filling a whole regiment; (3) the company officers would be examined as they come in, and the incompetent ones replaced during the same interval, and thus time be saved and the effectiveness of the troops enhanced. There are other reasons which will readily occur to you.

On July 6, 1861, the President, in his message, suggests that there be placed under the control of the government, at least 400,000 men. Pennsylvania at once made preparations to respond to this call. On July 11, 1861, the Secretary of War addressed the Governor to the effect that "the time of the three months' volunteers from your State will expire during the present month. This department is anxious that the force now in the field shall not be diminished to the extent of a single man; and I therefore request your Excellency to inform me, at an early day, at what time you can have ready for marching the fifteen regiments which, I understand, are now in camp, preparing for the service of the government."

In his message to the Legislature of January 8, 1862, the Governor, commenting on the expiration of the terms of the three-months men, says:

On the expiration of the term of the three-months men in July last, some eight or ten thousand discharged Pennsylvania volunteers

were thrown into Harrisburg without notice, and detained here, waiting to be paid, for an average time of some ten days. Their tents, camp equipage and cooking utensils had been taken from them at Williamsport, Md., and they arrived here destitute of all means of shelter and of preparing their food. The commissary of the United States furnished uncooked rations, and under the circumstances of emergency I deemed it necessary to make arrangements for aiding in the cooking and baking of the rations, and also for furnishing meals to such of the regiments as arrived during the night or under circumstances requiring instant relief. The expenses attending these operations amounted, so far as ascertained, to \$744.20, and I recommend that the Legislature make an appropriation to pay them. It ought to be stated that these expenses would have been much larger but for the liberal and patriotic efforts of the citizens, and especially the ladies of Harrisburg; their free-handed hospitality and generous aid to our wearied and hungry soldiers deserve remembrance and gratitude.

At the special session of the Legislature, which commenced on the thirtieth of April last, I recommended the organization of a Reserve Corps, to be armed, equipped, clothed, subsisted and paid by the State, and drilled in camps of instruction, in anticipation of the exigencies of the country, and by the act of the fifteenth of May last, such a corps was directed to be raised, and a loan of \$3,000,000 was authorized to defray the expenses of that and other military preparations. Men more than sufficient in number to form some ten regiments of the Reserve Corps had, previous to the fifteenth of May, been accepted by me in pursuance of a call on me (afterward rescinded) for twenty-five regiments, and were then already assembled and subject to my control. Most of these men volunteered for the Reserve Corps, and were immediately organized. The remaining regiments were rapidly recruited and the corps was thus completed, and George A. McCall, of Chester County, was commissioned as major general, and assigned to the command of all the forces raised or to be raised under the provisions of the last mentioned act. The regiments composing the Reserve Corps were instructed in four camps in different parts of the State, until they were taken into the service of the United States. Two of these regiments, under the commands of Colonels Charles J. Biddle and Seneca G. Simmons, and two companies of artillery, under the command of Colonel Charles T. Campbell, at the pressing instance of the War Department, were sent, on the twenty-second of June last, to the relief of Colonel Wallace at Cumberland, and remained about six weeks there and in western Virginia, engaged in active operations.

Toward the close of July the whole corps was called for under requisition, and taken into the service of the United States. Within four days after the disaster at Bull Run, eleven regiments of this fine body of men, armed, drilled, clothed, equipped, and in all respects ready for active service, were in Washington. The regiments and companies from western Virginia and the remaining two regiments, making the whole number of fifteen, soon joined them there, and they are all now in service under the command of General McCall, who has been commissioned as brigadier general by the United States.

These fifteen regiments contain 15,856 men, and constitute a division comprising three brigades, a regiment of artillery and one of cavalry. The whole expense of raising, clothing, equipping, subsisting and paying the Reserve Corps (including the expense of establishing and fitting the camps of instruction, of recruiting and supplying regimental flags, and the expenses of the campaign of the two regiments and companies in Maryland and western Virginia, which were all defrayed by the State) has amounted to \$855,444.87. This does not include the transportation on railroads, as the separation of that account would have been a work of great labor, nor does it include the pay of the two regiments during the campaign, but it does include all the expenses, which were heavy, of teams and transportation, not on railroads, for the two regiments on the campaign above mentioned. Twelve regiments of the Reserve Corps were paid, subsisted, etc., by the State to the average date of twenty-second July. The two regiments in western Virginia were paid by the State to the date of their departure from Harrisburg on that expedition. The cavalry regiment was not paid by the State. It will be perceived that the whole average expense per man was \$53.95.

Previous to the thirty-first of April last, a regiment had been enlisted in the city of Erie from northwestern Pennsylvania. When the call was made on me on that day for twenty-five additional regiments, the Erie Regiment was ordered to march to Harrisburg. The call was rescinded, however, before the regiment reached Pittsburg, and I ordered it to encamp at that city, where it remained until the thirtieth of June. The national government declined to muster the regiment into service, as all existing requisitions made on the State were more than filled.

Much apprehension existed in the western and southwestern borders of the State, and it was deemed prudent to retain the regiment at Pittsburg to meet any emergency that might arise.

After the passage of the act of fifteenth of May, 1861, it was expected that this regiment would form part of the reserve volunteer corps; but as the men had been a long time from home and remained

inactive in camp, they declined entering the service, and were subsisted and paid up to the thirtieth of June by the State. Two regiments have since been enlisted from the same part of Pennsylvania, at the city of Erie, one of which has been in Washington in service since September, and the other is now ready for marching orders; and it is due to the first Erie regiment to say that most of the men are now in service.

Further requisitions for sixteen regiments of infantry and two regiments of cavalry were shortly afterward made by the War Department. Of these, sixteen have already been raised and are in the service of the United States, and the remaining two are in the course of organization and nearly ready to march.

In addition to the requisition on the State, the War Department had given authorities to numerous individuals to raise volunteers in Pennsylvania, but as that system was found to create much embarrassment, a general order was issued by the War Department on the twenty-fifth of September last, placing all such organizations under the control of the Governor, and shortly afterward a requisition was made on the State to increase her quota to 75,000 men. Those independent organizations, as they were called, thus became Pennsylvania regiments, and as completed and sent forward formed part of the quota of the State.

The State regiments have been numbered, and the last to this date is numbered 115. Two of the three-months regiments have continued in service under the later requisitions, and retain their original numbers. Deducting the remaining twenty-three three-months regiments, there are ninety-two regiments in service and preparing for it. We have also in service and preparing twenty-four companies.

The following table of the existing Pennsylvania volunteer force is given for information:

REGIMENTS IN SERVICE.

Sixty-six Regiments of Infantry of which six were rifle regiments	71,189
Eleven Regiments of Cavalry	12,690
One Regiment of Artillery	1,077
	<hr/>
	84,956

COMPANIES IN SERVICE.

Seven Companies of Infantry	707
Six Companies of Cavalry	578
Six Companies of Artillery	936
	<hr/>
	2,221
	<hr/>
	87,177

Enlistments in other than Pennsylvania organizations estimated (the officers of which are in course of being commissioned)	6,400
Total in service	93,577

REGIMENTS PREPARING FOR SERVICE.

Twelve Regiments of Infantry	13,092
One Regiment of Cavalry	1,136
One Regiment of Artillery	1,077
	<hr/> 15,305

COMPANIES PREPARING FOR SERVICE.

One Company of Cavalry	109
Four Companies of Artillery	624
	<hr/> 733
	16,038
In service	93,577
Preparing for service	16,038
	<hr/> 109,615
Pennsylvania's contribution	109,615
Exclusive of 20,175 three-months men, now disbanded.	

The regiments preparing for service are incomplete. Those that may not be filled by the sixteenth instant will be consolidated and sent forward. Of the regiments in service, the 11th and 15th Regiments of Infantry are at Annapolis; the 28th, 29th, 21st, 66th, 69th, 71st, 72d and 106th Regiments, and one company of infantry are in the command of Major General Banks; the 45th, 50th, 55th, 76th and 100th Regiments of Infantry are in South Carolina; the 48th Infantry is at Hatteras Inlet; the 108th Infantry and 11th Cavalry are at Fortress Monroe; the 77th, 78th and 79th Infantry, the 7th and 9th Cavalry, one troop of horse, one squadron of cavalry, two battalions of artillery are in Kentucky; the 84th and 110th Infantry are in western Virginia, as are also three companies of infantry, four companies of cavalry, five companies of light artillery; the 87th Infantry is at Cockeyville, in Maryland; one company of artillery is at Fort Delaware, all the remainder of the volunteers are at or near Washington. Upward of three hundred volunteers from Pennsylvania are now prisoners, but as arrangements have been made for the exchange of prisoners, it may be expected that they will soon be released.

In compliance with the joint resolutions of the sixteenth of May last, I have procured regimental flags for the Pennsylvania volunteers, and have presented them in person to most of the regiments.

In other cases, the regiments being on or near the Potomac, I have requested Mr. Cowan, senator, and Messrs. Grow and Wright, members of the House of Representatives, from Pennsylvania, to present them in the name of the commonwealth.

The general government requested that the States would abstain from purchasing arms, as their competition was found injurious in the market, and in view of the large expenditures of money in arming and equipping the volunteer force of the States, provided for the defence of the national government, I did not purchase any as authorized by the twenty-eighth section of the act of the fifteenth of May, 1861. The State has now quite as many arms as are necessary to arm all her volunteer organizations in existence; but influenced by the threatening aspect of our relations with foreign governments, I have directed the adjutant general to procure arms as soon as it can be done, on reasonable terms and without injurious competition with the national government. Arms have been distributed among the border counties to all the organizations that have been formed to receive them. One thousand nine hundred and thirty arms have been thus distributed. I have also addressed a letter to the commissioners of all the border counties, offering arms to them as soon as military organizations shall be formed to receive them. Besides thus complying with the requirements of the twenty-seventh section of the act of fifteenth May last, I have deemed it prudent to offer 5000 arms to such military organizations as may be formed in Philadelphia on a plan to be approved by me as commander-in-chief. Muskets and rifles to a considerable extent have been furnished to the Pennsylvania volunteers from the State Arsenal. Others have been sent by the United States authorities to arm them before leaving the State. In some cases regiments have gone without arms under assurances from the War Department that they would be armed at Washington or other near designated points, and that their immediate departure was required. It was thought wise in these cases not to insist on the arms being sent before the regiments marched, as this would have imposed on the government an unnecessary expense in freight, and would have been productive of delays, which might have been seriously detrimental to the public services. Forty-two pieces of artillery with limbers, caissons, forges, ammunition wagons, harness and all the necessary implements and equipments were furnished by the State to the artillery regiment of the Reserve Corps. Ten of these were purchased by the State, and their cost has been refunded by the United States. Diligence has been used in collecting arms throughout the State, and repairing and altering them in the most approved manner.

The State has now sixty-two pieces of artillery, of which seventeen need repairs; 26,753 muskets and rifles, some of which are in the hands of mechanics being repaired; 1910 are in the hands of volunteer corps throughout the State; 1930 in the possession of county commissioners, and 1000 with the Reserve Corps of Philadelphia.

In addition to this the city of Philadelphia has nine pieces of rifled artillery, and 4976 muskets and rifles.

The State has also in the arsenal at Harrisburg 1966 sabres and swords, and 1957 pistols, and the city of Philadelphia has 440 sabres and 326 pistols, with the necessary accoutrements.

There is also in the arsenal at Harrisburg a large amount of accoutrements and ammunition for artillery and small arms.

The adjutant general is successfully engaged in collecting arms throughout the State, and it is expected the number above stated will be largely increased. Probably, at least, 5000 muskets and rifles and several pieces of artillery will still be collected.

The care which has been bestowed upon the comfort of the volunteers, and the goodness and sufficiency of their supplies of all kinds, and the excellent arrangements of the medical department under the control of Sergeant General Henry H. Smith, are proved by the fact that more than 60,000 men have been for various, generally short periods, at Camp Curtin since the ninth of April last, and that down to the first of January instant, there died but forty-nine men at that camp, *viz.*: Forty-four from sickness, two (belonging to regiments from other States) who had been injured on railroads, two accidentally killed in Camp Curtin and one shot in Harrisburg.

On the seventh of July, 1862, a call was made by the President for 300,000 volunteers. In his message to the Legislature, January 7, 1863, Governor Curtin says :

On the seventh of July last, a call was made by the President for 300,000 volunteers. This State had already supplied nearly one hundred and ten thousand men, yet her people promptly bestirred themselves to respond to this new requirement. Although it was believed that no bounties would be necessary to induce the men of Pennsylvania to enter the service of their country on such an occasion, yet, as some of the neighboring States offered large bounties, it was thought not right to expose our citizens to the temptation thus afforded to them to enlist in regiments of other States. There being no appropriation for the payment of bounties, I, of course, could not direct them to be paid out of the Treasury, and it was

evident that to call the Legislature together and wait for the negotiation of any loan which might be authorized for the purpose, would be attended with injurious delay. Under these circumstances I confidently appealed by proclamation to a people who have never faltered in the performance of any duty of patriotism, calling on them to raise in their several counties the sums necessary to insure their proportion of the quota of the State. This appeal was effectually answered. Public meetings were held and liberal amounts subscribed by individuals. In the city of Philadelphia, besides a very large fund thus raised, the municipal authorities contributed heavily from their common treasury, and in several counties the county commissioners, generally under the guarantee of a few of their eminent citizens, devoted county funds to the same purpose. I recommend that these proceedings be legalized, and submit to the wisdom of the Legislature the question of what legislation would be just and proper on the whole subject that the burden of this patriotic effort may fall equally on all classes of people throughout the State.

The result of this manifestation of public spirit was that thirty-eight new regiments and three unattached companies of infantry were raised; four other regiments, which, previous to this call, had been authorized by the War Department to be raised, are still in progress of organization.

On special requisition from the War Department there have been raised and are now in service five additional regiments and three companies of cavalry, two batteries of heavy artillery and one battery of light artillery. A battalion of heavy artillery is being raised by Major Joseph Roberts, U. S. A., with my assent, also under special authority of the War Department.

* * * * *

On the fourth of August last, a draft of three hundred thousand militia, to serve for nine months, was ordered by the President, under the act of Congress of seventeenth of July, 1862, and regulations were made by his authority in pursuance of that act, under which regulations the emolument and draft were conducted in this State, our militia laws being found to be defective. Several counties and districts having already supplied by volunteers their proportion of the quota of this State, were exempted from the draft, and time was given to enable others to raise the required number of men by voluntary enlistments. The draft was generally proceeded with throughout the State on the sixteenth of October last, and the drafted men were directed to be placed in the several camps of rendezvous established under the regulations, where they were organized and elected their officers, and have since gone forward to

the army in the field. The draft was eminently successful, and when the men had been marched to the rendezvous, my agency in the matter ceased, and all authority and control over the men devolved on the United States officers. I cannot but commend the people of Pennsylvania for their cheerful obedience to the requirements of the government on this occasion. All the expenses of the draft are, of course, to be paid by the United States, and I learn that officers are now in the State charged with the settlements and payments.

Including the three-months volunteers, Pennsylvania has furnished to the general government more than two hundred thousand men since the breaking out of the rebellion, besides some fifty thousand who were in the service, or actually ready for it, as volunteer militia, under the call of eleventh of September last, making in the whole more than two hundred and fifty thousand men.

* * * * *

Governor Curtin in his message to the Legislature January 7, 1864, says :

On the invasion of the State during the last summer, the President made a call for militia, and with his assent, I subsequently made a call for volunteer militia for the defence of the State. Under these calls, men were assembled and organized with promptness, after the reality of the emergency came to be understood by our people. The general government clothed and subsisted this force, and agreed to pay it, but as no appropriation for that purpose had been made by Congress, the President and Secretary of War promised, if the money should be advanced from other quarters, to recommend its immediate re-payment on the meeting of Congress.

* * * * *

It is highly important that we should replenish the ranks of our regiments in the field and supply the places of those volunteers whose terms will soon expire and who may decline further service. I am happy to say that a large proportion of our regiments are re-enlisting. Efforts are making by myself and by the people in various portions of the State to procure a sufficient number of volunteers, and with a promise of success, provided a reasonable time be allowed for the purpose. Meanwhile persons professing to be officers and agents from other States are most improperly endeavoring to seduce our citizens into their service by extravagant bounties and promises.

In his message to the Legislature dated January 4, 1865, he says in reference to this subject :

By the act August 22, 1864, I was authorized to cause an immediate enrollment of the militia to be made, unless that recently made by the United States should be found sufficient, and to raise, by volunteering or draft, a corps of 15,000 men for the defence of our southern border.

The United States enrollment being found very defective, I directed an enrollment to be made, which is now in progress under the charge of Colonel Lemuel Todd, whom I appointed inspector general. A draft by the United States was then in progress, and it was not thought advisable to harass our people by a contemporaneous State draft, even if a draft had been practicable under the present law. Volunteers could not be obtained, there being no bounties, and the men not being exempted by their enlistment in that corps from draft by the United States. Fortunately the United States placed an army, under General Sheridan, between us and the enemy, and thus provided effectually for our defence. With such adequate protection as proved by the brilliant campaign of that army, I did not think it right to incur the expense to the State of an independent army, and the withdrawal of so many of our people from their homes and pursuits. Meanwhile arrangements have been made with the authorities at Washington for arming, clothing, subsisting and supplying the corps at the expense of the United States, and an order has been given by the authorities of the United States to furlough such volunteers in the corps as may be drafted by the United States. The corps so privileged not to exceed 5000 men. It is my intention to raise 5000 men during the winter, and I have already adopted measures to that end. There may occur irruptions of irregular bodies of the rebels, and it is well to be provided against them. The number proposed to be so raised and put into actual service will, in my judgment, be sufficient, and a regard to due economy requires that no more than are sufficient should be placed on pay. The remaining 10,000 will be organized and ready for service in case of necessity. I invite your immediate attention to the very able report of the inspector general, which sets forth the defects in the law which he has discovered in his preparation for carrying it into practical effect.

* * * * *

A new call has been made by the President for 300,000 men. This renders it proper that I should invite your attention to the evils which have resulted from abuses of the system of local bounties which was begun in an emergency by the voluntary and generous loyalty of our citizens, before the passage by Congress of the enrollment act, and has since been continued by sundry acts of Assembly.

The result has been to the last degree oppressive to our citizens, and unproductive of corresponding benefit to the government. In some counties and townships, it is believed that the bounty tax during the last year exceeded the average income derived from the land. The large sums offered in some places in the competition for men have demoralized many of our people, and the most atrocious frauds connected with the system have become common. The men of some of the poorer counties have been nearly exhausted by their volunteers being credited to richer localities paying heavier bounties. The system as practiced lowers the *morale* of the army itself, by putting into the ranks men actuated by merely mercenary motives, and who are tempted to desert by the facility of escaping detection, and the prospect of new gains by re-enlistment, a process which they expect to be able to repeat an indefinite number of times. Of the number of men for whom bounties have been paid, it is believed that not one-fourth have been actually placed in the ranks of the army, and even those who have joined it have probably not on an average received for their own use one-half of the bounty paid for them. Immense sums have thus been appropriated by cheats and swindlers, in many cases believed to be acting in complicity with agencies of the government.

An effort was made to prosecute some of the parties concerned in such frauds, under the act of Assembly of fourteenth of August last, and they were bound over by the Mayor of this city, but after the witnesses had come here on the meeting of the court, they disappeared from the public eye. I recommend the whole subject to your careful consideration, that the system may be purged of these evils.

I am officially informed that the quota of this State, under the recent call, is 66,999, but I am not informed of the principle on which the draft is to be made.

* * * * *

Certainly more men are required to aid our gallant soldiers in the field in crushing this rebellion, and every consideration of patriotism and of regard for our brothers who are now in the face of the enemy, obliges us to spare no effort to raise the necessary force.

* * * * *

Major General Hancock has been authorized by the War Department to raise a corps of veterans, to be called the First Corps. One of the regulations is that on application by the governor of any State, recruiting officers will be designated for such State. I have been requested by General Hancock to make such application, but have hitherto declined to comply with the request. It appears to me that the families of men raised on the plan adopted by the War

Department would probably not be entitled to the relief provided by our own laws for the families of volunteers. I have inquired of General Hancock whether the proposed corps is to form part of the regular army or of the volunteer force, and if the latter, under what act of Congress it is to be raised. He has referred that communication to the War Department, from which I have as yet received no answer to it.

The following letters have passed between General Hancock and myself on this subject:

“EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
“HARRISBURG, PA., Dec. 29, 1864.

“*General*: I received your letter at the moment of my departure for Philadelphia, on Monday last. I returned this morning and hasten to reply.

“Having no knowledge of the organization of the corps you are to command than what appears in the newspapers and orders, I will be obliged if you will inform me if it is to be regarded as a part of the regular army of the United States, or as part of the volunteer service.

“If it is part of the army of the United States, I certainly have no connection with it as governor of the State. If it is organized as volunteers, be pleased to inform me under what act of Congress. I need not say, General, that I would be most happy to do all in my power personally and officially to raise a force to be commanded by you. Can we not raise you two or three regiments in Pennsylvania, in the usual manner, and according to the act of Congress, for your corps? Of course, I would consult you in the selection of officers, and only commission where you approve.

“I cannot understand the importance of my asking that persons be sent to Pennsylvania to induce veterans to go to the District of Columbia to enlist. I certainly will do nothing to embarrass the plan proposed.

“We have benefits by general and special legislation in Pennsylvania, which attach to the volunteer and his family. While I will do nothing to deter the veterans of the State from entering your corps, I hesitate to connect myself with a mode of enlistment which may deprive them of such benefits, unless it is my duty under the law.

“I am, General, very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“A. G. CURTIN.”

“Major General Winfield S. Hancock.”

“HEADQUARTERS FIRST CORPS,

“WASHINGTON, D. C., December, 31, 1864.

“*To His Excellency, Hon. Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania.*

“*Sir:* I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the twenty-ninth instant, and have referred the same to the War Department. I thank you for your kind expression of personal good will, and regret that there should be any occasion for hesitation on your part to lend your official influence as governor to the raising of the corps as proposed by the War Department.

“It is not within my province, perhaps, to discuss the plan of organization, as I am acting under the direct orders of the War Department, and my own views, therefore, are of no practical moment. I may say, however, that I have no knowledge of the organization other than what I have derived from the orders and circulars of which I mailed you official copies December 5. I cannot see how volunteers for this corps from your State lose any of the advantages attaching to those for other organizations.

“They are credited to the localities where they or their families are domiciled, and count on the quota of your State.

“It should be borne in mind that this is an effort to get men into service who are not subject to draft.

“I have the honor to remain, very respectfully,

“Your obedient servant,

“WINFIELD S. HANCOCK,

“Major General U. S. Volunteers,

“Commanding First Corps.”

The only act of Congress for raising volunteers that I am aware of, requires that the field and line officers shall be commissioned by the governors of the several States. The men in this corps are not to be formed into organizations of the respective States, and it is proposed that its officers shall be appointed by the general government. I know of no act of Congress or of Assembly under which men so raised will be entitled to pensions, or their families to benefits from the United States or State Government. In addition, I will observe that without any feeling of jealousy, I am still not ready to participate actively in transferring to the United States illegally the right of appointment vested in the State, and which the State authorities can exercise with more discrimination by reason of having a greater familiarity with the merits of the citizens of their own State than the United States authorities can possibly have. I will transmit any further communications that I may receive on

this subject. It will be perceived by reference to the correspondence that I have offered to raise, in the manner provided by law, two or three regiments of veterans for Hancock's corps. My desire is to assist the government in every legal mode in raising men, and especially to facilitate an officer—a native Pennsylvanian—so distinguished as General Hancock, in his efforts to organize a new corps.

I shall throw no obstacles in his way on the present occasion, but I cannot, certainly, be expected to invite a violation of law in carrying out a plan which sacrifices the rights of the State under existing laws, and would leave the men unprotected by them, so far as concerns future provision for their comfort and that of their families.

I will further observe that it appears by the report of the adjutant general, herewith transmitted, that the State, under the system established by law, has put into the military service of the United States since the commencement of the war the following number of men, *viz.*:

TROOPS SENT INTO SERVICE DURING 1864.

Organizations for three years' term	9,867
Organizations for one hundred days' term	7,675
Organizations for one year's term	16,094
Volunteer recruits	26,567
Drafted men and substitutes	10,651
Recruits for Regular Army	2,974

RE-ENLISTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA VOLUNTEERS.

Infantry	13,862
Cavalry	2,834
Artillery	799
Accredited to other States	389
	17,876
	91,704

Troops sent into the service of the United States since the commencement of the rebellion, including the ninety days' militia in the departments of the Monongahela and Susquehanna, in 1863 :

During the year 1861	130,594
During the year 1862	71,100
During the year 1863	43,046
During the year 1864	73,828
Re-enlistment of Pennsylvania Volunteers	17,876

336,444

The 25,000 militia, of 1862, are not included in this statement.

On January 30, 1866, Governor Curtin, in his message to the Legislature, recalled the history of the great service rendered by Pennsylvania during four years of the war. He says:

The first call made by the President for troops to aid in suppressing the rebellion, was on the fifteenth day of April, 1861, for 75,000 men; and that of this number the quota of Pennsylvania was settled at fourteen regiments, to serve three months, unless sooner discharged. With unsurpassed alacrity and earnestness, volunteers answered to this call, in such numbers as manifested the intuitive conviction of the people that the monstrous wickedness, which had conceived an armed rebellion against the constitution and laws, could not be suppressed but by a colossal force.

Major General Robert Patterson was assigned, by the general government, to a command, which included the forces raised in Pennsylvania. Within a week after the call of the President, communication with Washington was almost entirely cut off. General Patterson, prompted by the necessities of the situation, made, on the twenty-fifth of April, a requisition upon me for twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, to be forthwith mustered into the service of the United States. Under this requisition I accepted, from amongst the many pressing to be admitted into the service, a sufficient number of companies to fill it; care being taken to allow to each county, as nearly as possible, a fair representation. Only eleven regiments, however, in addition to the fourteen called for by the President, were organized and mustered into the service, before the order of General Patterson was countermanded by him, under instructions from the War Department.

On the fourteenth day of May, 1861, the Secretary of War, in a letter communicating the plan of organization for three-years regiments, confirmed the revocation of the order in the following language: "Ten regiments are assigned to Pennsylvania, making, in addition to the thirteen regiments of three-months militia already called for, twenty-three regiments. It is important to reduce, rather than enlarge, this number, and in no event to exceed it. Let me earnestly recommend to you, therefore, to call for no more than twenty-three regiments, of which only ten are to serve during the war, and if more are already called for, to reduce the number by discharge."

The twenty-five regiments raised as above stated, comprised 20,979

men. The ardor of our people was unabated. Many of the companies, under my order, had arrived in camp at Harrisburg, and others maintained their organizations at home at their own expense and by contributions from their neighbors and friends.

In the critical condition of the country, and anticipating that in case of reverse to our arms the borders of Pennsylvania would be the portals to the rich granaries, manufactories and storehouses of the North, I deemed it my duty to convene the Legislature, that adequate provision might be made to enable me to render the military power of the State as available and efficient as it should be, for the common defence of the State and the general government; and, accordingly, on the twentieth of April, 1861, issued my proclamation calling for a meeting of the General Assembly, on the thirtieth of the same month.

In my message to the Legislature at its opening, I recommended the immediate organization, disciplining and arming of at least fifteen regiments, exclusive of those called into the service of the United States.

The Legislature acted promptly upon this suggestion, and made full provisions for its effectual accomplishment. The result was the early and complete organization, clothing and equipment of the Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps, with its thirteen regiments of infantry, one of light artillery and one of cavalry, under the supervision of George A. McCall, who was selected to command it with the commission and rank of major general. This corps contained 15,856 men, and the whole expense of raising, clothing and equipping, subsisting and paying them until their entry into the United States service, was \$855,444.87. They were encamped in different parts of the State, excepting two of the regiments, commanded by Colonels Charles J. Biddle and Seneca G. Simmons, and two batteries of artillery, under the command of Colonel Charles T. Campbell, which, at the request of the War Department, were sent on the twenty-second of June, 1861, to the relief of Colonel Wallace, at Cumberland, Md., and remained for about six weeks there and in western Virginia, engaged in active operations. Toward the close of July the whole corps was called for and taken on a requisition into the service of the United States. Within four days after the disaster at Bull Run eleven regiments, in all respects ready for active service, were in Washington and Baltimore.

The troops sent to western Virginia were recalled, and with the other two regiments of the corps forwarded to Washington.

On the twenty-sixth of July, 1861, the Secretary of War expressed his gratification and thanks for the prompt response from Pennsylvania.

The wisdom of the Legislature in providing for the formation of this corps for the interests of the State and the nation, was fully shown by subsequent events. Most of the men who filled its ranks had been accepted by me under the call for twenty-five regiments, which was afterward rescinded.

They had left their families and homes under a deep sense of duty to their country, and to have sent them back unaccepted would have caused serious difficulty in making future enlistments.

By acts of Congress of twenty-second and twenty-fifth July, 1861, the President was authorized to call upon the several States for volunteers to serve for three years. Under this authority requisitions were made on this State, and fourteen regiments were promptly furnished. In the meantime authority had been granted by the President and the War Department to a number of individuals to raise regiments in different parts of the State, which seriously interfered with the action of the State authorities in filling requisitions regularly made under the acts of Congress.

The embarrassments arising from this conflict of authorities became at length so serious that I was constrained to call the attention of the President and Secretary of War to the subject, by a communication dated the first of August, 1861, and on the twenty-fifth of September following, an order was issued requiring these independent regiments to report to the Governor, and placing them under his authority and control. Acting under this order, many of the independent regiments were filled up, others consolidated; and seventy-three regiments, with an aggregate strength of 89,048 men, were promptly sent forward.

During the year 1862 a draft was ordered by the general government, which was executed under the State authorities.

Of the quota of the State, under the call of July 7, 1862, forty-three regiments of volunteers, aggregating 40,383 men, were put into service, and under the draft ordered August 4 of the same year, fifteen regiments, containing an aggregate force of 15,000 men, organized and sent forward. During the same period nine independent batteries of artillery were organized in the State, with an aggregate strength of 1358 officers and men.

It will be remembered, that the ardor and promptness of our people, under such trying circumstances, in pressing the troops forward, was such as to call from the President especial thanks, and to request me to express them to the people of the State.

During the year 1863, forty-three thousand and forty-six (43,046), men were furnished for the service, principally to fill regiments in the field which had been reduced by the exigencies of the war.

During the year 1864, under the various calls of the general government, thirty-two regiments, two battalions and eight unattached companies of different arms of the service and for various periods, were organized and sent to the field, aggregating, with re-enlistments in the field, amounting to 17,876, an aggregate force of 91,704 men, furnished for that year.

On my suggestion the policy of consolidating our reduced regiments and filling them up by the assignment of new companies was adopted, and in 1865, under this system, besides organizing three entire new regiments, seventy-five companies were assigned to reduced regiments, by which they were again filled to the regimental standard. These three new regiments and seventy-five companies, with volunteer recruits for regiments in the field, reported by the superintendents of that service amounted, in the aggregate, to 25,790 men for this year.

In the month of September, 1862, after the second disaster at Bull Run, it became evident that the enemy had adopted an aggressive policy, and was about to invade the Northern States through Maryland and the southern border of Pennsylvania. Under the sanction of the President of the United States, on the eleventh day of that month, I issued my proclamation, calling into immediate service 50,000 of the free men of this State. Under this call twenty-five regiments and four companies of infantry, fourteen unattached companies of cavalry, and four batteries of artillery were immediately organized and sent to the border, the greater portion advancing beyond the State line into Maryland. General John F. Reynolds, at that period commanding the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, was temporarily assigned, by the Secretary of War, to the command of these troops, by whose order they were returned to Pennsylvania, and by my proclamation disbanded on the twenty-fourth of the same month. In acknowledgment of the services rendered by the men of Pennsylvania, Major General McClellan, commanding the Army of the Potomac, by letter dated the twenty-seventh of September, 1862, acknowledging the service and thanking the State, uses the following language:

“The manner in which the people of Pennsylvania responded to your call and hastened to the defence of their frontier, no doubt exercised a great influence upon the enemy, and the Governor of Maryland, his Excellency, A. W. Bradford, in an order dated September 29, 1862, used the following language in regard to these troops: ‘The readiness with which they crossed the border and took their stand beside the Maryland brigade, shows that the border is in all respects but an ideal line, and that in such a cause as now unites us Pennsylvania and Maryland are but one.’ ”

In the month of June, 1863, it again became evident that the rebel army was advancing North, threatening also the western border of Pennsylvania, and on the twenty-sixth of that month I again issued my proclamation, calling the militia of the State into immediate service. In the Department of the Monongahela five regiments of infantry, one company of cavalry, and one battery of artillery, for ninety days' service, and one battalion of infantry, one battalion of cavalry and one battery of artillery, for six months' United States service, were organized. In the Department of the Susquehanna twenty-three regiments and five unattached companies of infantry, and two unattached companies of cavalry, for ninety days; one battalion of infantry, one battalion of cavalry, and four independent batteries of artillery, for three months; three regiments of cavalry, two battalions of infantry, and three independent batteries of artillery, for six months' United States service, were organized.

There were also organized in this department, for the "emergency term," eight regiments, one battalion and a number of unattached companies of infantry, two independent batteries of artillery, and two companies of cavalry.

In the Department of the Monongahela, the troops, under this call, were commanded by Major General W. T. H. Brooks, and in the Department of the Susquehanna, by Major General D. N. Couch, severally detailed by the War Department.

The details of the services of the militia on these occasions, as well as the generous assistance rendered by the militia of the States of New York and New Jersey, have been fully recognized in previous messages.

Acting under orders they did not hesitate to cross the State line and enter Ohio and western Virginia in the West; and in the East they defended the line of the Susquehanna, were at Gettysburg before the advance of the Army of the Potomac, defended Carlisle successfully when attacked by a superior force, made long marches, patiently suffering great privations for the want of sufficient means of transportation, crossed into Maryland when ordered, and attacked the enemy successfully, and saved the capital of their State from destruction. When the history of the rebellion is truly written, no part which relates to Pennsylvania will reflect more credit on the patriotism, courage and fidelity of her people than their prompt answer to the call made for military service for domestic protection. It is a record of which the great body of the people are a party, and of which they may all be proud.

In July, 1864, a rebel army again crossed the Potomac, threatening the southern border and marched to Washington.

Under the pressing demands of the national authorities, all the organized troops in Pennsylvania were immediately sent forward. The rebel army was defeated and driven back. A rebel column of 3000 men had, however, crossed the border, and, on the thirtieth of July, burned the town of Chambersburg. In my message of last year, I stated in detail the movements of the enemy, and the circumstances attending the destruction of that borough. Although the people of all the southern border suffered much from annual incursions of the enemy, Chambersburg is the only town entirely destroyed within our border, and, it is believed, in any loyal State.

The citizens of the town were suddenly reduced to poverty, and for a time were sustained by the active benevolence of the people of other parts of the State, aided by an appropriation of \$100,000 from the commonwealth. They have struggled energetically to revive from this calamity, but it is now feared that few of them will be able to succeed. I submit, therefore, to the wisdom of the Legislature, whether it would not be proper to extend to that people some additional relief.

I refer, for more perfect details of all the military operations of the State, to the reports of the adjutant general, of the other military departments of the State, and to my previous annual messages. This brief military record would be imperfect if I failed to commend the fidelity, zeal and industry of the military departments of the State, and to express my personal obligations for the ready obedience and constant support I have uniformly received from the chiefs of the departments, and officers of my personal staff.

An approximate judgment of the amount of labor performed by these departments, and in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth, may be made when it is stated that over forty-three thousand (43,000) military commissions were issued during the war.

The first request for troops from this State was dated at Washington, on the fifteenth April, 1861, and on the sixteenth the telegraph announced to the War Department that over four thousand men were at Harrisburg, awaiting marching orders.

It is our proud privilege to have it remembered that the first military aid from the loyal States which reached Washington was the force of 460 Pennsylvanians, who arrived there on the eighteenth day of April, and that, when the capital of the nation was the second time threatened, after the battle of Bull Run, the regiments of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps were the first troops sent forward.

From the beginning of the war to its close, the State has never faltered in its support of the government.

STATEMENT OF TROOPS FURNISHED BY PENNSYLVANIA.

1861.

Under call of the President of April 15, 1861, for three months	20,979	
" Pennsylvania Reserve Volunteer Corps," sent into the United States service under call of the President of July 22, 1861, for three years	15,856	
Organized under the act of Congress of July 22, 1861 for three years	93,759	
		130,594

1862.

Under call of the President of July 7, 1862, for three years (including eighteen nine-months' regiments), 40,383		
Organized under draft ordered August 4, 1862, for nine months	15,100	
Independent companies for three years	1,358	
Recruits forwarded by Superintendents of Recruiting Service	9,259	
Enlistments in organizations of other States and in the Regular Army	5,000	
		71,100

1863.

Organized under special authority from War Department for three years	1,066	
Under call of the President of June, 1863 :		
For six months	4,484	
For " Emergency "	7,062	
Recruits forwarded by Superintendents of Recruiting Service	4,458	
Enlistments in Regular Army	934	
Militia called out in June for ninety days	25,042	
		43,046

1864.

Re-enlistments in old organizations for three years	17,876	
Organized under special authorities from War Department for three years	9,867	
Under call July 27—for one year	16,094	
Under call July 6—for one hundred days	7,675	
Recruits forwarded by Superintendents of Recruiting Service	26,567	
Drafted men and substitutes	10,651	
Recruits for Regular Army	2,974	
		01,704

1865.

(Up to April, when recruiting for volunteers ceased.)

Under call of the President of December 19, 1864, for one year	9,645	
Recruits forwarded by Superintendents of Recruiting Service	9,133	
Drafted men and substitutes	6,675	
Recruits for Regular Army	387	
		25,840
		<hr/>
Total number of men furnished		362,284

The 25,000 militia, in service in September, 1862, are not included in the above statement.

I have preferred, in giving the account of Governor Curtin's promptness in furnishing troops to the army during the war, to let him tell his own story by the official records he has left behind him. It assures the most complete accuracy, and with the record thus presented, there is no need for rhetorical embellishment.

THE PENNSYLVANIA RESERVES.

BY WILLIAM HAYES GRIER.



WILLIAM HAYES GRIER.

On the twentieth of April, 1861, Governor Curtin issued his proclamation calling upon the members of the Legislature to meet in extra session on the thirtieth of April, 1861, at 12 o'clock noon.

Before that date arrived, Major General Robert Patterson, in command at Harper's Ferry, sent the following

request to the Governor :

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF WASHINGTON,
PHILADELPHIA, April 26, 1861.

His Excellency, Andrew G. Curtin, Governor of Pennsylvania.

Sir: I feel it my duty to express to you my clear and decided opinion that the force at the disposal of this Department should be increased without delay.

I therefore have to request your Excellency to direct that twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one regiment of cavalry be called forthwith to be mustered into the service of the United States.

Officers will be detailed to inspect and muster these men into service



GOVERNOR CURTIN AND STAFF.

Paymaster Jordan,

Com. Gen'l Irwin.

Col. Thomas, Aide.

Col. Todd, Aide.

Col. Roberts, Aide.

Col. Wright, Aide.

Gov. Curtin.

Q. M. Reynolds,

Ad. Gen'l Russell.

Surg. Gen'l Phillips.

as soon as I am informed of the points of rendezvous which may be designated by your Excellency.

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

R. PATTERSON, Major General.

Governor Curtin at once issued his proclamation calling upon the citizens of the State to respond to the call of the government, and the enthusiasm and patriotism of the people were aroused, and Camp Curtin daily received companies from every section, filled with good men, earnest and anxious, to be of service to their country.

On the thirtieth of April, the Legislature assembled and the Governor sent in his message from which the following are extracts :

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, HARRISBURG, April 30, 1861.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen: The present unparalleled exigency in the affairs of our country has induced me to call you together at this time. With an actual and armed rebellion in some of the States of the Union, momentous questions have been thrust upon us which call for your deliberation and render it necessary that you should devise means by legislation for the maintenance of the authority of the general government, the honor and dignity of our State, the protection of our citizens, and the early establishment of peace and order throughout the land.

* * * * *

The time is passed for temporizing or forbearing with this rebellion, the most causeless in history. The North has not invaded nor has she sought to invade a single guaranteed right of the South. On the contrary, all political parties and all administrations have fully recognized the binding force of every provision of the great compact between the States, and regardless of our views of State policy our people have respected them. To predicate a rebellion, therefore, upon any alleged wrong inflicted or sought to be inflicted upon the South, is to offer falsehood as an apology for treason. So will the civilized world and history judge this mad effort to overthrow the

most beneficent structure of human government ever devised by man.

The leaders of the rebellion in the Cotton States, which has resulted in the setting up of a provisional organization assuming to discharge all the functions of governmental power have mistaken the forbearance of the general government; they have accepted a fraternal indulgence as an evidence of weakness and have insanely looked to a united South and a divided North to give success to the wild ambition that has led to the seizure of our national arsenals and arms, the investment and bombardment of our forts, the plundering of our mints, has invited piracy upon our commerce, and now aims at the possession of the national capital. The insurrection must now be met by force of arms; and to re-establish the government upon an enduring basis, by asserting its entire supremacy, to repossess the forts and other government property so unlawfully seized and held; to ensure personal freedom and safety to the people and commerce of the Union in every section, the people of the loyal States demand as with one voice, and will contend for as with one heart, and a quarter of a million of Pennsylvania's sons will answer the call to arms, if need be, to wrest us from a reign of anarchy and plunder, and secure for their children for ages to come the perpetuity of this government and its beneficent institutions.

Entertaining these views, and anticipating that more troops would be required than the number originally called for, I continued to receive companies until we had raised twenty-three regiments in Pennsylvania, all of which have been mustered into the service of the United States. In this anticipation I was not mistaken. On Saturday last an additional requisition was made upon me for twenty-five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, and there have been already more companies tendered than will make up the entire complement.

* * * * *

It is impossible to predict the lengths to which "the madness that rules the hour" in the rebellious States shall lead us, or when the calamities which threaten our hitherto happy country shall terminate. We know that many of our people have already left the State in the service of the general government and that many more must follow. We have a long line of border on States seriously disaffected which should be protected. To furnish ready support to those who have gone out to protect our borders we should have a well-regulated military force.

I therefore recommend the immediate organization, disciplining and arming of at least fifteen regiments of cavalry and infantry,

exclusive of those called into the service of the United States. As we have already ample warning of the necessity of being prepared for any sudden exigency that may arise, I cannot too much impress this upon you. I cannot refrain from alluding to the generous manner in which the people of all parts of the State have from their private means provided for the families of those of our citizens who are now under arms. In many parts of the commonwealth grand juries and court, and municipal corporations have recommended the appropriations of moneys from their public funds for the same commendable purpose. I would recommend the passage of an act legalizing and authorizing such appropriations and expenditures.

It may be expected that in the present derangement of trade and commerce and the withdrawal of so much industry from its ordinary and productive channels, the selling value of property generally will be depreciated and a large portion of our citizens deprived of the ordinary means of meeting engagements. Although much forbearance may be expected from a generous and magnanimous people, yet I feel it my duty to recommend the passage of a judicious law to prevent the sacrifice of property by forced sales in the collection of debts.

You meet together at this special session surrounded by circumstances involving the most solemn responsibilities; the recollections of the glories of the past, the reflections of the gloomy present and the uncertainties of the future, all alike call upon you to discharge your duty in a spirit of patriotic courage, comprehensive wisdom and manly resolution. Never in the history of our peace-loving commonwealth have the hearts of our people been so stirred in their depths as at the present moment. And I feel that I need hardly say to you that in the performance of your duties on this occasion and in providing the ways and means for the maintenance of our country's glory and our integrity as a nation you should be inspired by feelings of self-sacrifice kindred to those which animate the brave men who have devoted their lives to the perils of the battlefield in defence of our nation's flag.

Gentlemen: I place the honor of the State in your hands. And I pray that the Almighty God who protected our fathers in their efforts to establish this our great constitutional liberty, who has controlled the growth of civilization and Christianity in our midst, may not now forsake us; that He may watch over your counsels, and may in His providence lead those, who have left the path of duty and are acting in open rebellion to the government, back again to perfect loyalty, and restore peace, harmony and fraternity to our distracted country.

A. G. CURTIN.

On May first, the second day of the extra session, the Governor received the following :

PHILADELPHIA, April 30, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Government requires no more three-months men at present. I write by mail to-day.

R. PATTERSON.

That he was surprised may readily be understood from the following :

HARRISBURG, May 1, 1861.

General R. Patterson :

Your letter of twenty-sixth April distinctly requires twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. Your dispatch to-night seems to conflict with it. Please explain this evening.

A. G. CURTIN.

The letter from Major General Patterson rescinding the order for additional regiments, is as follows :

HEADQUARTERS MILITARY DEPARTMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA,
PHILADELPHIA, PA., May 1, 1861.

To His Excellency A. G. Curtin Harrisburg, Pa.

Sir: On the twenty-fifth instant, I addressed you a communication expressing my opinion that the force at my disposal was inadequate and suggested that twenty-five additional regiments be added to the Pennsylvania contingent. Since that date other States have furnished a number of disciplined troops well armed and sufficient for the present requirements of the service at the national capital ; and it will, therefore, be inexpedient to accept the services of more three-months volunteers.

The three companies referred to in my communication of the twenty-eighth, are required for immediate service and one troop will be on duty to-morrow. A call may be made for an additional force of volunteers to serve for two years or the war ; but the authority therefor will be provided in time to cause no delay or inconvenience.

The government informs me that no more three-months men will be required, plans having been adopted to increase the army in a much more efficient manner. I have therefore to request that my suggestion in relation to additional regiments be not taken into consideration. I see that you have recommended to the Legislature to keep a force under State organization in readiness for State defence

and to respond to a call from the general government. I do not doubt that at the present time so provident a proposition will meet with a ready affirmative response from a co-ordinate branch of the State government and in that case any force above that called for by the government and now collected can now be organized and disciplined under State laws. This force will then be in a position to fill the future wants of the government, and in best possible manner. I am, sir,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

R. PATTERSON, Major General.

The countermanding of the order by General Patterson provoked the Governor, as the people over the entire State were aroused, and he feared the evil effect such a course would have if more troops were needed in the future. Dispatches from all sections poured into Harrisburg for information as to whether the order was countermanded, the following being a sample :

PHILADELPHIA, May 1, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Is it true that last requisition of troops has been countermanded? Please answer.

FLANIGAN.

HARRISBURG, May 1, 1861.

J. R. Flanigan, Philadelphia :

Yes, by order of General Patterson.

A. G. CURTIN.

One of the regiments called for by General Patterson having been ordered to the front and refused, the Governor appealed to the War Department :

PENNSYLVANIA EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
HARRISBURG, PA., April 30, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, Washington.

Sir : I received this evening the following telegram from General Patterson in reply to one directing him to accept a certain regiment.

“PHILADELPHIA.

“*Governor A. G. Curtin :*

“Have no authority to receive Colonel Einstein's regiment. The contingent called for by the government has already been exceeded and I can take no more.”

Shortly after receiving the above telegram Captain Simmons informed me that he had been instructed by Major Porter to stop mustering troops, having more than was called for.

On referring to copy of General R. Patterson's letter of twenty-sixth April, 1861, herewith sent, you will note that I am called upon distinctly for "twenty-five (25) additional regiments of infantry and one (1) regiment of cavalry." In pursuance of this call, preparations have been made to raise the additional regiments, the companies are ready to march, many of them are on their way and heavy expenses have been incurred by the people of the State.

To publish this order of Major Porter will create intense excitement throughout the State and materially injure the cause, and destroy the public confidence in the administration. I, therefore, most respectfully protest against this act of Major Porter and rely on immediate order being sent General Patterson instructing him to receive the twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, as per his letter of the twenty-sixth April.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

A. G. CURTIN.

The Governor immediately informed the Legislature of the change of affairs in the following message :

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
HARRISBURG, May 2, 1861.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Gentlemen: In my communication to you of the thirtieth April, I had the honor to say that a requisition had been made on me for twenty-five additional regiments of infantry and one of cavalry for the service of the national government; as that order was countermanded by a telegraphic dispatch on the evening of the thirtieth, and by a written order this morning received from Major General Patterson, I feel it to be my duty to lay the subject before you for your consideration.

The first order made upon me by the federal government was for sixteen regiments of infantry, which by a subsequent order was reduced to fourteen. That order was filled immediately and I continued to receive companies for the reasons assigned in my message of April thirtieth until twenty-three regiments were mustered into the service of the United States.

* * * * *

I commenced immediately to raise the additional force and a large number of companies was accepted from different parts of the State and from which we had not taken the forces to fill the first requisition ; many of the companies are here and on their way to this rendezvous and Camp Wilkins, at Pittsburg. The officer of the United States Army detailed to muster companies into service at Pittsburg, has been withdrawn and no more companies will be mustered into service at the different points of rendezvous established by the government in this State.

* * * * *

I take this occasion to repeat my opinion of the necessity of the immediate organization and equipment of at least fifteen regiments as recommended in my message of thirtieth April. Since the change in the order of the national government it becomes more necessary for the defence of our border and the protection of our citizens who may soon leave the State in the service of the federal government. As the force directed to the national capital will be very much diminished it is eminently proper that a portion of our people fully prepared for any emergency should follow their advance and if necessity should occur march to their relief.

I am most happy to find that Major General Patterson in the letter communicated with this message seems fully to concur in this opinion : his experience and knowledge of military affairs with his high command under the federal government render any expression of opinion from such a quarter worthy of the highest consideration.

I submit these facts which have transpired since my message of the thirtieth ultimo to aid you in your deliberations upon the weighty issues involved.

A. G. CURTIN.

The War Department appeared to be unaware of the action of General Patterson, and as late as May 4 the Secretary sent the following :

WASHINGTON, May 4, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin :

General Patterson had no authority to make any requisition on you for twenty-five additional regiments, and you will understand me to say distinctly they cannot be mustered into service in a day or two. Another call will be made for a large number of troops to serve during the war, and Pennsylvania will have her quota to supply under that call, and is confidently relied on to do so.

SIMON CAMERON.

The Governor did not relish the idea of being made the victim of a conflict of authority, and responded in the following emphatic and patriotic message :

HARRISBURG, May 6, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Washington, D. C. :

I received your dispatch. General Patterson anticipated you by the countermand of his order for twenty-five additional regiments. It would be well for me to understand how authority is divided, so that we can move with certainty, and the ardor of the people of this State should not be again cooled by changes. I will be guided by my powers under the Constitution, and as thus directed will obey the orders of the federal government. Pennsylvania will answer to any requisition made on her.

A. G. CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, May 7, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Your dispatch of yesterday is at hand, and I have the honor to reply that this department recognizes no divided authority, and its authority is paramount to that of General Patterson's, who in making the requisition upon you acted without its knowledge or advice.

SIMON CAMERON.

On the sixteenth of May Governor Curtin sent a message to the War Department with the information that the bill creating the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps had been signed, and asked to have Captain S. G. Simmons, United States Army, detailed to muster them into the State service.

The permission was granted and the duty performed by Captain Simmons.

On June 21, 1861, General Winfield Scott requested Governor Curtin to send two Pennsylvania regiments to Cumberland, Md., to support the Eleventh Indiana, under command of Colonel Lew Wallace, and in a few hours, on the same day, Colonel Charles J. Biddle, in command of the Bucktails, and Colonel S. G. Simmons, in command of the Fifth Reserves, were on the march.

These regiments arrived at the State line, about five miles from Cumberland, in two days, and established a camp named "Mason and Dixon" and remained there two weeks. The troops had not been sworn into the United States service, and when the order came to march into Maryland and on to Piedmont, Va., no question was raised, but the order was cheerfully and willingly obeyed.

While in Camp Mason and Dixon the news arrived of the election of Colonel Biddle to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of E. Joy Morris, but he did not leave his command until December, 1861.

Governor Curtin was doing all in his power to have the government accept the reserve regiments, and on June 24 sent Colonel John A. Wright, an aide on his staff, to interview the Secretary of War on the subject. The Colonel reported in the following letters.

The Governor at once ordered the regiments recruited to the maximum, and the two regiments in Camp Mason and Dixon and those in camps in the State sent out recruiting sergeants, and in a few days every company in the entire division had a full complement of one hundred and one men :

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1861.

His Excellency, A. G. Curtin,
Governor of Pennsylvania.

Sir: I had an interview with General S. Cameron, Secretary of War, this morning.

He declines taking any action in the matter of mustering in three-months men into the three-year service to fill up requisition on you for ten or thirteen regiments, preferring to await the action of Congress, which meets on the fourth of July next.

He would accept at once the fifteen regiments of your Reserve Corps, if made up to the maximum in accordance with General Orders No. 15, but positively declines, from want of authority, to accept any officer higher than colonel, as indicated in that order.

He does not desire you to prepare, but recommends your procuring tents and necessary camp equipage.

General Cameron desires an immediate answer whether your fifteen regiments of Reserve Volunteer Corps will be offered on condition specified.

I am, sir,

Yours respectfully,

JOHN A. WRIGHT, Aide.

Dear Sir: I send you herewith report of an interview with General Cameron, which is decisive, and on which you will have to act.

General Cameron thinks he has taken responsibility enough and will await action of Congress. He thinks if three-months men go home, they will in a short time, when another call is made, be the more anxious to re-enlist.

As to taking your major general and brigadier, says he would not do it if General Jackson was the major general. As to this point he seems absolutely positive on the ground of having no authority to do so, though at same time spoke favorably of McCall and Biddle.

This leaves you in position of twenty-five regiments disbanded at end of three months' service and fifteen regiments on your hand, refused by Secretary of War, unless on the condition stated, and no representation in the Army of the United States. However, General Cameron intends recommending a large increase in the army, and under it, if ordered by Congress, we will of course have a representation. This may be or not before the disbandment of our present forces. My impression is the department here have scarcely any defined plan for the future and cannot have until the action of Congress.

The refusal to take your major and brigadier generals is not peculiar to Pennsylvania, but the necessity has been forced on them on account of the pressure from nearly all the States to force all kinds of men on the government.

I sent you copy of enclosed letter yesterday by telegraph, General Cameron desiring immediate answer, saying he is holding back from accepting regiments until this matter is definitely settled with you.

You had better telegraph General Cameron as soon as you receive this, deciding at once what you will do.

To make a résumé. The case stands, if you accept the offer the major and brigadier generals are left on your hand, and the twenty-five regiments disbanded at end of three months' service, and you have fifteen regiments in service. If you refuse the offer you have the fifteen regiments on hand, well officered, and twenty-five regiments disbanded, unless they may be affected by action of Congress. I read my official letter to you of this date to General Cameron and he

approves it. I will await your answer. Telegraph me at same time you answer Cameron. In this state of things there is of course no use talking about clothing, tents or wagons. But if the fifteen regiments go into the United States service the United States will provide wagons, and you are desired to procure tents and necessary camp equipage.

Yours, etc.,

WASHINGTON, June 25, 1861.

JOHN A. WRIGHT.

These letters indicated a willingness to accept the Reserves, but under no consideration would General McCall be taken. The Governor wanted to preserve the unity of the division and prevent it from being scattered all over the country, and to that end urged the acceptance of General McCall. He sent Colonel Wright again to Washington, and the following correspondence ensued :

WASHINGTON, July 13, 1861.

His Excellency, A. G. Curtin, Governor :

In accordance with your instructions, I proceeded to Washington on the twelfth of July and had an interview with the Secretary of War, the conclusion of which was an offer to accept the thirteen regiments of infantry and one of cavalry from your Reserve Corps ; also two additional regiments of infantry. He declined accepting the regiment of artillery, not requiring it for the United States service. The Secretary of War declined accepting the corps as a whole, with its major general and staff, on the ground of having established *that* as a rule with other States.

He, therefore, through me, makes a requisition on you for, as above : fifteen regiments of infantry and one of cavalry.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN A. WRIGHT, Aide-de-Camp.

Private.

WASHINGTON, July 13, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg :

(Strictly confidential.) The Secretary of War agrees to take fifteen regiments of infantry and one of cavalry. Will furnish equipments to cavalry regiment. Cannot use an artillery regiment. Will appoint the general a brigadier general in volunteer force for the war. Will send orders at once to have the men mustered into service of the United States. I advise your acceptance. Colonels Ball and Scott unite with me. I do not think it necessary to stay longer and will return this afternoon.

JOHN A. WRIGHT.

HARRISBURG, July 13, 1861.

To John A. Wright, Esq.:

Say to the Secretary, with my thanks for the offer of brigadier general, that I decline it, as I cannot consent to be a bar in the way of the reception of these regiments. I have also resigned the command of the corps.

GEO. A. MCCALL.

HARRISBURG, July 13, 1861.

To Colonel John A. Wright, War Department:

Your dispatch as to fifteen regiments satisfactory except as to number. Do you mean fifteen of infantry and artillery and cavalry in addition? The acceptance of a brigadiership by General McCall would deprive him of the command of the corps, and cause great dissatisfaction, and give us all much trouble, and under all the circumstances, with which you are familiar, would not be satisfactory. I do sincerely hope this question may be settled. You know how much spirit it will give the officers and men if the proper grade is given McCall and the approbation it will receive from the people of the State. I am only desirous of giving the government the full power of the State and have no selfish purposes to subserve.

A. G. CURTIN.

After General McDowell had started on his march toward Bull Run, Governor Curtin again offered the Reserves to the government, and this time they were accepted without conditions:

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 19, 1861.

Governor Curtin:

The Secretary of War desires me to communicate the following as his instructions: With the exceptions of the regiments of Colonels Bidle and Simmons, assemble at once all other regiments, given in your dispatch of yesterday, at Harrisburg, where they will be immediately mustered into service. They will then immediately proceed to the seat of war as previously ordered. Their services being imperatively demanded there. If it is not done promptly these regiments will be prevented from taking part in the battle and the responsibility will rest on yourself.

L. THOMAS, Adjutant General.

This pleased the Governor. He had accomplished his object, and replied as follows:

HARRISBURG, July 19, 1861.

To Hon. Simon Cameron, Secretary of War :

All the regiments have been ordered to Harrisburg, in obedience to your dispatch, just received, and, on arrival, will be immediately forwarded to the seat of war, as previously ordered. If there is not time to muster them in at this place mustering officers can follow them to the field.

A. G. CURTIN.

The Governor used every endeavor to concentrate the Reserves, but the battle of Bull Run was fought in two days after he received notice of their acceptance, and the disaster attending our army in that engagement made the authorities at Washington frantic, as the following dispatches from Colonel Thomas A. Scott, Assistant Secretary of War, attest :

WASHINGTON, D. C., July 21, 1861.

Hon. A. G. Curtin :

Get your regiments at Harrisburg, Easton and other points ready for immediate shipment. Lose no time preparing. Make things move to the utmost.

THOS. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Forward all you can to-night ; transportation will be provided by the Northern Central Company. Press forward all available force.

THOS. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Do not lose a moment in loading Wisconsin and your own regiments. Start them before daylight in the morning.

THOS. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Stop regiment at Greencastle and send it to Washington to-night. Do not fail.

T. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 21, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

I will do all I can for them. Send on the men.

T. A. SCOTT.

HARRISBURG, July 21, 1861.

Colonel Thomas A. Scott, Washington, D. C. :

One regiment left for Washington at noon ; one from Pittsburg and one from West Chester have just arrived. One from Pittsburg and two from Easton will arrive to-morrow. The others as rapidly as they can be transported to and from this place.

A. G. CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1861.

A. G. Curtin :

To-morrow won't do for your regiments. We must have them to-night. Load them to-night. It is of utmost importance.

T. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1861.

A. G. Curtin :

Let me know how your regiments are moving. What have you started, and how fast will they leave.

T. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin :

Mustering will receive attention here. We understand your regiments have arms and accoutrements. Please give me immediately the number of regiment and colonel commanding that reached Baltimore last, and like information in regard to all other regiments. This is important in order to give them instructions on the way. Send troops rapidly. Has the Wisconsin regiment received their arms? When will they leave Harrisburg? Answer.

T. A. SCOTT.

HARRISBURG, July 22, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Washington :

Will you send direct order to Colonel John S. McCalmont at this office to march his regiment forthwith to Baltimore? The cars are waiting for him and he refuses to march.

A. G. CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, July 22, 1861.

Hon. A. G. Curtin :

Please have following official order delivered to Colonel John S. McCalmont: "*War Department.*—To Colonel J. S. McCalmont.—You will provide transportation and proceed direct to Washington with your regiment."

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

HARRISBURG, July 22, 1861.

Colonel T. A. Scott, Washington :

Our regiments are uniformed, armed and equipped. Fourth Regiment, Colonel Robert G. March commanding, arrived in Baltimore last night. First Regiment, same corps, Colonel R. B. Roberts commanding, and Eighth Regiment, Colonel George S. Hays commanding, are between here and Baltimore. Tenth Regiment, Colonel J. S. McCalmont commanding, and Seventh, Colonel E. B. Harvey commanding, will also arrive in Baltimore this evening. Will see and advise you about Wisconsin regiment.

A. G. CURTIN.

HARRISBURG, July 22, 1861.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Washington :

I have seen your letter to Mr. Chase, of seventeenth date. Under the circumstances I cheerfully accept the commission of brigadier general, offered by yourself, and shall leave without delay for Washington. I take with me my staff, Major H. J. Biddle, assistant adjutant general, and lieutenants, H. A. Scheetz and E. McConkey, aides-de-camp, trusting you will appoint the former, who is a gentleman highly qualified by West Point education.

GEO. A. MCCALL.

HARRISBURG, July 22, 1861.

T. A. Scott, Washington, D. C. :

Two of our regiments besides the one sent yesterday are just leaving Bridgeport, 9 a. m. Should have left at 1 and 6 a. m. Cause of delay in one case, giving out of an engine and burning of the regiment's baggage car on Pennsylvania Railroad; in the second case, failure of Northern Central Railroad to furnish cars. Two more of our regiments will leave this morning; one as soon as cars are furnished by Northern Central Railroad, which will be about 10 o'clock, the other as soon as Pennsylvania Railroad arrives with it from West Chester. Please have an order sent from the proper authority for the mustering officers to follow our regiments and complete their enlistment in the United States service.

A. G. CURTIN.

HARRISBURG, July 23, 1861.

Thos. A. Scott, Washington :

One regiment left to-day, for Washington, and one is on the way as far as Greencastle, two will leave here to-morrow, and a third for Hagerstown. All the other regiments of the Reserve Corps are ordered here and will be forwarded from here as rapidly as transportation can be furnished. The regiments are in very fine condition, except their arms.

A. G. CURTIN.

WASHINGTON, July 23, 1861.

A. G. Curtin :

Glad to hear Ricketts is on the way, also that you will send three more regiments from Pennsylvania to-day. Pennsylvania is responding nobly.

T. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 23, 1861.

J. D. Cameron :

We heard a regiment was at Greencastle ; if so, we want it here. Who was colonel that refused to go when transportation was ready?

T. A. SCOTT.

HARPER'S FERRY, July 23, 1861.

His Excellency, A. G. Curtin :

Will you send a regiment of the reserve force of Pennsylvania to Hagerstown for the protection of the supplies at that place? I desire to remove at once the force now at that point.

R. PATTERSON, Major General.

WASHINGTON, July 24, 1861.

His Excellency, Governor Curtin :

The Secretary of War desires that the remainder of the thirteen Pennsylvania regiments be sent to Major General Banks at Harper's Ferry. Please report to the secretary as you send them. By order,
GEO. M. RUGGLES, Assistant Adjutant General.

NEW CREEK BRIDGE, Va., July 25, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

We trust, Governor, that you will have us ordered to join General McCall's division at Washington. The Ohio troops are near enough to amply protect this line.

CHAS. J. BIDDLE, Colonel Commanding.

PIEDMONT, Va., July 25, 1861.

Major General McCall :

The Ohio troops are in force at the next station west of us ; transportation has been provided for 4000 men as far as Cumberland, this evening or to-morrow. Now that we are no longer needed, shall we not be ordered to fight under you in defence of our homes?

THOMAS L. KANE.

WASHINGTON, July 25, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

The Secretary of War directs me to say to you that he will take the batteries of artillery, if soon ready. A battery at a time as equipped.

GEO. A. MCCALL.

WASHINGTON, July 26, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin :

Please dispatch orders to Colonel C. J. Biddle's regiment, and the other from Pennsylvania, lately at Cumberland, to hasten to Harper's Ferry.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 26, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

The Secretary is much gratified with the prompt response from Pennsylvania. He has ordered General Meigs this morning to authorize you to secure cavalry horses for new regiment, to be inspected at Harrisburg by Captain Hastings. Get them together promptly and let us have a crack regiment—now is the time to redeem Pennsylvania.

THOS. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 26, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

I have attended to you by mail. A formal requisition for full regiment of artillery, fully equipped, guns and all, as authorized by your war bill, if furnished within twenty days; also to send on at once Campbell's battery, if it is organized and in condition for immediate service. Can I do anything more for you?

Have started a movement this afternoon to have the arms of your regiments inspected, and if deficient, good ones to be furnished. Will do what I can to push it through.

THOS. A. SCOTT.

WASHINGTON, July 26, 1861.

Hon. A. G. Curtin :

When may we expect the Pennsylvania 13th, 14th and 15th regiments of infantry to be ready? Give names of colonels and place where orders will reach them. When will cavalry be ready? Please answer immediately.

THOS. A. SCOTT.

BEDFORD, July 28, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Colonel Biddle's regiment arrived here at 2 this afternoon and will go on or not this evening as weather may permit. Colonel Simmons' regiment not expected before noon to-morrow. The whole expect to take railroad at Hopewell for Baltimore.

FR. JORDAN.

WASHINGTON, July 29, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin :

You are right in paying Reserve Volunteer Corps up to time when regiments received marching orders from this department.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

HUNTINGDON, July 30, 1861.

Governor A. G. Curtin :

Colonel Biddle's regiment left here to-day at 3.30 for Harrisburg. Second will leave about same time to-morrow.

J. J. LAWRENCE.

HOPEWELL, July 31, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

Colonel Simmons' regiment leaves at 12 o'clock noon. Wagons will follow soon on cars. I will return to-night.

FRANK JORDAN.

And this crowning dispatch from General McCall showed that Governor Curtin had succeeded in preserving the unity of the division, and that General McCall was to lead the Reserves :

WASHINGTON, August 1, 1861.

Governor Curtin :

General McClellan has placed the Reserve Corps intact under my command and desires me to request Your Excellency to send forward the 12th Regiment, Colonel Taggart, and the battalion of artillery, Captain Campbell, to report to me without delay. I request you to send with Campbell the two James guns, ammunition, etc., and eighteen bronze guns. The government will furnish horses at once. Please also send forward Major Owen Jones and his men, and Captain Clymer's company and the other companies of cavalry as fast as organized.

GEO. A. MCCALL.

The following is an extract from the Adjutant General's report of 1861 :

At the extra session of the Legislature, convened on the thirtieth of April, in pursuance of the proclamation of the Governor, was passed the Act of May 15, 1861, for organizing the " Reserve Volunteer Corps of the Commonwealth," to be composed of thirteen regiments of infantry, one regiment of cavalry and one regiment of light artillery.

This corps, under the direction of Major General George A. McCall, was speedily organized, and in conformity with law was placed for military instruction in camps at Easton, West Chester, Pittsburg and Harrisburg.

The exigencies of the service required that this force not long remain inactive, for on the twenty-second of June, two regiments commanded

by Colonel Charles J. Biddle and Colonel S. G. Simmons, and two companies of artillery under Captain Campbell, were ordered to Cumberland, Md., to reinforce the 11th Indiana Regiment, commanded by Colonel Wallace. These troops rendered important service at New Creek, Piedmont, etc., in Western Virginia, until ordered to the lower Potomac. On the twenty-second day of July, the day after the memorable disaster at Bull Run, a requisition was made on this State for the immediate service of its "Reserve Corps." This urgent demand of the general government resulted in sending, as rapidly as means for their transportation could be furnished, about 11,000 of those troops, fully armed and equipped, to the timely relief of the national capital. Within a few days after this the entire body was mustered into the United States service. The time for these, and all subsequent enlistments, was for three years of the war. The aggregate number of officers and men in these regiments is 15,856.

The Reserve Volunteer Corps of Pennsylvania, organized by Act of Pennsylvania Legislature, of May 15, 1861, and called into United States service July 22, 1861:

Regiment.	Original Commander.
First Reserves (Thirtieth)	Colonel R. Biddle Roberts.
Second Reserves (Thirty-first) . . .	Colonel William B. Mann.
Third Reserves (Thirty-second) . . .	Colonel H. G. Sickles.
Fourth Reserves (Thirty-third) . . .	Colonel Robert G. March.
Fifth Reserves (Thirty-fourth) . . .	Colonel S. G. Simmons.
Sixth Reserves (Thirty-fifth)	Colonel W. W. Ricketts.
Seventh Reserves (Thirty-sixth) . . .	Colonel E. B. Harvey.
Eighth Reserves (Thirty-seventh) . .	Colonel George S. Hays.
Ninth Reserves (Thirty-eighth) . . .	Colonel C. F. Jackson.
Tenth Reserves (Thirty-ninth)	Colonel J. S. McCalmont.
Eleventh Reserves (Fortieth)	Colonel T. F. Gallagher.
Twelfth Reserves (Forty-first)	Colonel J. H. Taggart.
Thirteenth Reserves (Forty-second) . .	Colonel C. J. Biddle.
Fourteenth Reserves (Forty-third) . .	Colonel C. F. Campbell.
Fifteenth Reserves (Forty-fourth) . .	Colonel George D. Bayard.
Aggregate strength, 15,856.	

Thus ends the history of the origin, organization and acceptance of the Pennsylvania Reserves, a division that was unique, from the fact that every county in the State

was represented in its ranks. Every man before being enlisted was compelled to pass the ordeal of a physical examination, in such a condition that the least blemish on his person could be easily detected.

No one can read the messages of the Governor, together with the correspondence and dispatches herewith presented, and for a moment doubt as to who conceived and suggested the grand idea of organizing the Reserve Corps.

These papers are authentic, being transcribed from the records in the Adjutant General's Office, and are published as much as a matter of preservation as well as to give due credit to the memory, wisdom and foresight of Pennsylvania's great War Governor. But little comment accompanies these historical papers, as the reader will be able to make his own deductions, the chain of the narrative being complete.

An Act authorizing the organization of the Reserve Volunteer Corps. Approved by Governor Curtin, May 15, 1861.

SECTION 1.—That the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with the officers composing the grand staff of the militia of this commonwealth, are hereby authorized and required to organize a military corps, to be called the Reserve Volunteer Corps of the Commonwealth, and to be composed of thirteen regiments of infantry, and one regiment of cavalry, and one regiment of light artillery. The said regiment shall severally be composed of companies of like number, and to be armed and equipped, clothed, disciplined, governed and officered as similar troops in the service of the United States, and shall be enlisted in the service of the State for a period not exceeding three years, or for the war, unless sooner discharged, and shall be liable to be called into the service of this State at such times as the commander-in-chief may deem their services necessary for the purpose of suppressing insurrections or to repel invasions, and further to be liable to be mustered into the service of the United States at such times as requisitions may be made by the President of the United States.

SECTION 2.—That the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with the officers aforesaid, shall cause two or more camps of instruction,

not exceeding eight, to be formed in different sections of the State for the accommodation and instruction of said troops; and the governor shall appoint suitable officers, or drill masters, with the rank and pay of captain, whose duty it shall be to instruct such troops in the military art, conforming, as near as may be, to the plan of instruction, rules, regulations and discipline adopted for similar troops in the service of the United States.

SECTION 3.—That the commander-in-chief shall cause the troops aforesaid to be drilled and instructed, in such encampments, for and during such periods of time as he may deem necessary to perfect them in the military art.

SECTION 4.—That the said corps shall receive the same pay and rations when under such instructions in said camps, or in the active service of the State as similar troops receive when in the service of the United States, and that said troops shall, when not under such instruction in camp, or in the service of the State or United States, at all times hold themselves in readiness at their respective residences to be called into the service of the State, or upon requisition of the President into the service of the United States, and shall be required to provide and keep in repair suitable armories for the safe keeping and preservation of their arms and accoutrements.

SECTION 5.—That it shall be the duty of the commander-in-chief and adjutant general to procure and furnish arms and accoutrements, and a uniform dress suitable for said troops, at the charge of the State; and the captains of the several companies composing said regiments shall be required to receipt to the adjutant general for said arms, accoutrements and uniform dress, and shall further give bond to the commonwealth, with surety in such sum as the governor shall direct, to be approved by the president judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the county in which such captains may reside, conditioned for safe keeping and delivery over to the adjutant general of such arms and accoutrements as may be received by them for their respective companies, upon demand legally made by the adjutant general, and the said bonds, when so approved, shall be filed in the office of the adjutant general.

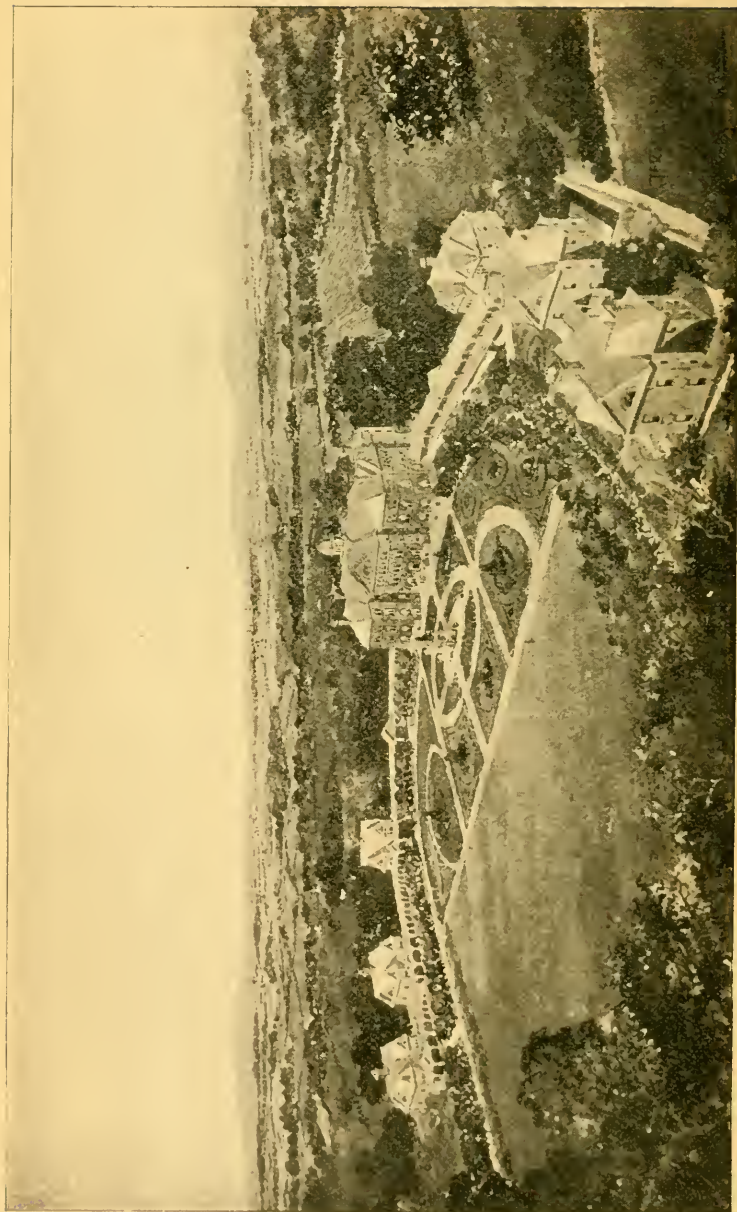
SECTION 6.—That the several companies and regiments composing said volunteer corps shall be entitled to elect, and the governor shall commission, officers similar in number and rank to those allowed like troops in the army of the United States; *provided*, that the governor shall have power to appoint and commission chaplains for said corps, and to designate their rank.

SECTION 7.—That no troops shall be kept in camp longer than three months at any one time, except the governor shall, upon the

expiration of said three months, deem the longer continuance of said troops necessary for the protection of the commonwealth, or shall have a requisition for troops from the President of the United States.

SECTION 8.—That the commander-in-chief, in conjunction with the grand staff aforesaid, are hereby authorized and empowered to make and adopt all needful rules and regulations for the speedy and efficient organization of said Reserve Volunteer Corps, and for arming and equipping the same with the most approved style of arms and equipments; and the officers and rank and file composing said volunteer corps shall be sworn or affirmed to support the Constitution of this State and the Constitution of the United States.

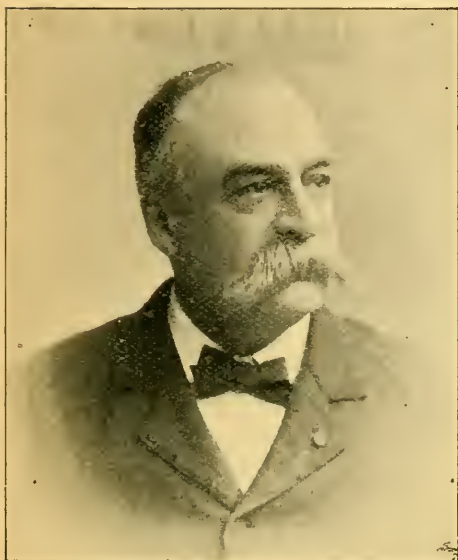
Such is the history of the organization of the Pennsylvania Reserve Corps, taken from the official records of the State. I need not here dwell upon its achievements in the field. It lost more men in battle than any other like number of men serving together for three years during the war, and its heroism illumines almost every page of the history of our civil conflict.



SCOTLAND SOLDIERS' ORPHANS' SCHOOL.

CURTIN AND THE SOLDIERS' ORPHANS.

BY G. HARRY DAVIS.



G. HARRY DAVIS.

Thanksgiving Day of 1863 was memorable and momentous for the orphans of the soldiers of the State of Pennsylvania. On that day two ragged little ones confronted the then Governor Curtin, as he stepped from his doorway, and appealed to him for alms. They told him in their child-

ish way, a mournful tale of their father's death on the battlefield, of their mother's broken health, and her consequent inability to provide them with the necessaries of life.

He was the governor of a great State, and toward him the eyes of the nation had turned in anxious expectancy in the hour of that nation's peril. But in his own home he was a man only, whose heart was touched by the distress and suffering of others. As the man, he had been the soldiers' friend ; as the governor, he had given them the

pledge of the State to care for their children. It grieved him to see these children begging food, while the echoes of the very battles in which their fathers had fallen still lingered in the streets and homes of that commonwealth.

It was a memorable day, because it marked the beginning of that great plan of beneficence which emanated from him, which Pennsylvania was the first among the States of the country to adopt, and by which the orphans of the soldiers have ever since been cared for, maintained and educated and uplifted from possible beggary and pauperism into an intelligent and useful citizenship. It was a momentous day, because, humanly speaking, on his action, to a large extent, depended the future of those children. This project became at once the desire of his heart, and to its successful development he gave the tremendous energy of his rugged nature. He never ceased his work until these orphans were recognized as wards of the State, and their maintenance and education an acknowledged element in the life of the commonwealth. He lived long enough to see the system crystalized into the Soldiers' Industrial School, where this great beneficence shall end. Soldiers' orphans will soon be only a memory of the past, but it will stand for ages the grandest monument to his worth that could have been raised, save that which exists in the deep affection had for him by the graduates of these schools who will recount to their own children their cherished recollections of his kindness and sympathy, and teach them in loving reverence to list his name.

He attended Thanksgiving services that day, heavily oppressed with the reflections thus forced upon him, and when again with his family his deep regret burst

forth in the agonized expression: "Great God! is it possible that the people of Pennsylvania can feast this day, while the children of her soldiers who have fallen in this war beg bread from door to door?"

At once he determined that something should be done to remove such disgrace from the State, and fulfill the pledge made to the soldiers as they went to the front. Though oppressed with the cares of an especially busy administration, and surrounded by the wearing trials of those exciting and critical times, he never forgot this resolve—"and I really believe," he afterward wrote, "I am safe in saying that at some period of each day, until accomplished, it crossed my mind." It was a question the solution of which was necessarily fraught with trouble and filled with perplexities. What he wished to do he knew well, but how to do it was a serious and puzzling problem. He met with embarrassments from the people, from the Legislature, and, at times, from the very mothers of the children. Yet he did not waver, but insisted that in some way these children should be removed from environments tending to seal them as paupers, and raised to that higher level which should recognize them as wards of the State, entitled to its care and its protection, and that, too, not in payment, but in recognition of the great and loyal sacrifices of their fathers. To do this money was needed immediately, and in large amounts, so that proper provision for clothing, maintenance and education might be made. Legislatures are not always liberal in appropriations, nor do all men think alike, and many of his friends, both in and out of the Legislature, differed from him in the details at least of his design. Money must be had, however, and appropriations must be made, but how to get

the one by compelling the other was the aggravating question.

His idea did not mature at once, but it was the inspiration that finally brought success. About this time Henry Ward Beecher had returned from England, and in recognition of his endeavors to create an enlightened public opinion in England as to the true issues before this country, he was given a public reception at the Academy of Music, in the city of Philadelphia. Governor Curtin presided, and took occasion in the address he then made to refer to the "uncared for who were left at home by the gallant fellows who had gone forward," and to impress upon those present the duty of lifting the orphans of the soldiers into positions of honor, rather than of leaving them in degradation. Said he, "Let the widow and her dependent offspring become in fact, and in truth, the children of the State, and let the mighty people of this great commonwealth nurture and maintain them."

It happened that in 1862, when President Lincoln called for 300,000 more men, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, through its president, Mr. Edgar M. Thomson, tendered the State the sum of \$50,000 to be used in the organization and equipment of troops. This offer was, however, refused, as the State was not in need of funds, but at the subsequent request of Mr. Curtin the proffered amount was allowed to be expended in the education and maintenance of the orphans of the soldiers. This generous gift thus became not only the nucleus of the immense sums subsequently disbursed, but the means whereby the development of the scheme became possible, and the adoption of the idea was guaranteed.

Calling around him his own and the friends of the

movement, he sought advice and counsel. Through the columns of the public press, the editors of which he sought to inspire with the loftiness of his own devotion, he again brought the matter to the notice of the people. He interested representative men of business and politics in its success, and in January, 1864, brought the whole subject once more before the Legislature. "I commend," said he, "to the prompt attention of the Legislature the subject of the relief of poor orphans of our soldiers, who have given, or shall give, their lives to the country during this crisis. In my opinion their maintenance and education should be provided for by the State. Failing other natural efforts of ability to provide for them they should be honorably received and fostered as children of the commonwealth. The \$50,000 heretofore given by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, referred to in my last message, is still unappropriated, and I recommend that this sum, with such other means as the Legislature may think fit, be applied to this end in such manner as may be thought most expedient and effective. In anticipation of the adoption of a more perfect system, I recommend that provision be made for securing the admission of such children into existing educational institutions, to be there clothed, nurtured and instructed at the public expense. I make this recommendation earnestly, feeling sure, that in doing so, I represent the wishes of the patriotic, the benevolent and the good of the State." Nothing, however, was done, and this part of his message was allowed unjustly to sleep in the desk of the Committee on Military Affairs. Subsequently Professor J. P. Wickersham, then principal of the State Normal School at Millersville, Lancaster County, at the request of Governor Curtin prepared a bill, providing for the

appointment of an officer, to be called the Superintendent of Schools for Orphans, who was therein empowered to select from institutions then, or which might thereafter be, established in the commonwealth, suitable schools or homes, for the instruction and training of destitute orphans, children of soldiers, subject to the approval of the Governor; and who should have further authority, with the consent of the mother, to bind such children as apprentices. This bill was presented on the eighth of April, 1864, and to it there was proposed an amendment, which placed the whole matter in the control of the Board of School Directors of the townships, wards and boroughs of the commonwealth. The adoption of this amendment would have taken from the Governor and his appointed officers the responsibility of caring for the children, and divided it among these many boards. Much and serious debate was had upon the questions involved in the original bill and in the proposed amendment, and it soon became evident that neither would be adopted. A substitute was then offered, and passed by both branches of the Legislature, to the effect that the Governor was thereby authorized to accept the sum of \$50,000 offered by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, for the education and maintenance of the destitute children of deceased soldiers, and sailors, and appropriate the same in such manner as he might deem best calculated to accomplish the designated object.

It would seem at this late day that the refusal of the State to assume the care and responsibility of these children, and thus fulfill the pledge made to their fathers, was unreasonable and intensely unpatriotic. We must bear in mind, however, that those were times which tried not only men's souls, but their intellects as well.

The refusal does not seem to have been so much due to a disinclination to care for the children, as to inability to unite upon a method. Possibly, and probably, there entered into the discussion an element of jealousy, which is too prone to exist between the different portions of the same commonwealth. The bill, as presented, would have made the children wards of the State, as the Governor desired they should be. The tendency of the amendment was to equalize them with the pauper children of the commonwealth, and place them on this lower level. The result of the substitute was to rob the State of the glory within her grasp, of being the practical originator of a movement which afterward became one of the brightest stars in her crown. It remains to be said, that to the unswerving loyalty and devoted determination of Mr. Curtin, and the great liberality of the Pennsylvania Railroad, we are indebted for the first practical commencement of the movement.

Mr. Curtin lost no time in complaints or regrets, but, accepting the action of the Legislature as the best he could obtain at that time, he, on the sixteenth of June, commissioned the Hon. Thomas H. Burrows, LL. D., as Superintendent of the Soldiers' Orphans, and that gentleman at once formulated a plan to carry the design into practical effect. He found comparatively little difficulty in placing the younger children, those ranging from six to ten years of age, in the charitable institutions of the State. The Northern Home for Friendless Children, in the city of Philadelphia, which had previously opened its doors to, and welcomed, the children of the soldiers, at once responded to the appeal of Mr. Burrows, and was the first Soldiers' Orphan Home established in the State. The Children's Home, in Lancaster; the

Soldiers' Orphan Home, in Pittsburg; the Pittsburg and Allegheny Home for the Friendless, and the Pittsburg and Allegheny Orphan Asylum soon followed. With the larger children the task was more difficult. A belief seemed to exist that the intention was to rob the mothers of their children, take the latter from all parental control, and subsequently bind them out, or apprentice them without parental sanction. The subject of religion was also made an obstacle, and it was for some time thought by many people that the religious faith in which the children had been reared would not receive proper attention, and that they would be compelled to adopt the faith of those in authority over them.

The amount of money at the disposal of Dr. Burrows was so meagre, in view of the stupendous task before him, and the time when it was then supposed the system would end so short, that the building of new schools was not contemplated. Hence, after having quieted the other difficulties that had confronted him, he endeavored to secure the admission of the older children to the normal schools of the State. In this effort, however, he failed, as the amount which he could allow per capita was not sufficient, in their wisdom, to warrant the authorities of these schools in assuming this new responsibility. After much labor, however, he secured the attention of five boarding schools,—the Paradise School in Lancaster County, the McAllisterville in Juniata County, the Mount Joy in Lancaster County, the Quaker-town in Bucks County and the Orangeville in Columbia County. These institutions finally received the orphans at \$150 per year per pupil, in payment of instruction and board, and everything necessary thereto and therefor, clothing excepted.

The system had now been put into practical operation, but it had taken much time and tedious effort to reach that point. Unexpected difficulties and obstacles were met with on every hand, and the faith of the Governor was taxed to the utmost, yet he never wavered from his first intention or deviated from the plan he had originally formed. Truly there was not much in this small beginning to demonstrate either the practicability of the intention or the feasibility of the plan. There was little upon which could be based another appeal for further and better legislation. More than a year had elapsed, and throughout the State, with its thousands of orphans, there were but five schools for the older and four homes for the younger ones, while in all these there was not an aggregate of one hundred pupils. From this small seed, however, grew that magnificent tree which subsequently spread its branches, and shed its beneficent influence through all the borders of this grand old commonwealth. It was the darkest hour of the night, but the dawn was soon to break, and the sunlight of a better morning to warm the hearts of the legislators into action, and gladden the homes of the little ones with the promise of a brighter future.

As the true intent of the design became better known, and the people more thoroughly understood its methods and its utility, the number of applications for admission rapidly increased. New homes and new schools became a necessity, so that at the close of the year 1865 there were eight schools for the older and seventeen homes and asylums for the younger children, and a total of 1329 pupils under their care.

In his annual message to the Legislature, in January, 1866, Mr. Curtin again called the attention of the

senators and representatives to the subject, still evidencing his warm interest in, and his determination to successfully carry out, his project. Among other things, he said: "When we remember that every sort of public and private pledge that the eloquence of man could devise or utter was given to our soldiers as they went forward, that, if they fell, their orphans should become the children of the State, I cannot for a moment suppose that you will hesitate to continue an appropriation, which is to bless their little ones and provide them with comfortable homes, instead of leaving them to want and destitution; many of them to fall victims to vice and crime." He had hoped that the matter would command the immediate attention of both branches of the Assembly, and that an appropriation, sufficiently large to meet the expenses, would at once and willingly be passed. Again he was doomed to disappointment. He had, it is true, more supporters than in the past, but the presentation of the bill in the interest of the schools was the signal for determined opposition. There were those who were frightened at the expense; others who disbelieved in the efficacy of the system, or were in gross ignorance thereof; others who criticised the management of the schools. Possibly their motives were pure, and at any rate they are entitled to this charitable construction, but the fact remains, that with all the efforts put forth upon the part of Mr. Curtin and his sympathizing friends, he had only succeeded in having an act passed, appropriating \$75,000 for the maintenance and education of the soldiers' orphans. This act, however, went beyond the appropriation in one important element, in that it confirmed the plan then going into operation, and added one year to the term of the children in the schools.

Before the end of the year this fund proved too small, and in December the principals of the various schools and the authorities of the institutions in which the smaller children had been placed, were notified that by the first of the new year the sum would all have been consumed, and that future payments must depend upon a further appropriation. Still, neither Mr. Curtin nor his noble coadjutor in the work lost faith in the same or hope in the future, but by every method in their power endeavored to infuse their faith and hope into others, so that the children could be cared for until such additional appropriation was made. In this they finally succeeded.

In this emergency the Governor decided that as the principles laid down in his messages, and his added personal work, had failed to bring forth the expected response, he would give the senators and representatives an object lesson, by which they might be taught their duty in the premises, and be reminded of the pledge given by the State. So, on the sixteenth of March, 1866, he brought from the schools of McAllisterville, Mount Joy and Paradise 345 soldiers' orphans, dressed in the uniform of the schools and carrying the flag under which their fathers had fallen. On the afternoon of that day he presented them to the members of both the Houses, and to a number of invited guests, assembled in the hall of the House, which was crowded in every part. The children pleaded their own cause; not in well prepared addresses, or rhetorical efforts, but by the pathos of their presence and the appeal which their innocence made to the love of every father in that assembly. Ruddy and rosy-cheeked, they gave evidence of kindly and careful treatment; intelligent in declamation and musical in song, of thorough

training ; and quiet and unassuming in demeanor, of proper discipline. The Governor, at the close of the meeting, related the incident with which this chapter begins. The enthusiasm was tremendous, and the applauding cheers which followed the exercises of the children and the address of Mr. Curtin betokened the success of the appeal, and assured the adoption of the scheme. The head and the heart had both been touched, and the desired end reached. The whole system had been imperiled by the conservatism of the law-makers, but it was saved by the children themselves. Thereafter success was assured, and the necessary appropriations were guaranteed.

On the twenty-seventh of April, of the same year, there was convened at Lancaster the first Council of the Officers and Principals of the Schools.

As the result of this conference Dr. Burrows formulated a series of general rules and regulations for the government of the schools having in charge the advanced scholars. These rules formed the model which, with little deviation, has been since followed. At the close of the year 1866 there were twenty-four homes for the younger pupils and twelve schools for the advanced scholars, accommodating in all 2686 orphans. In 1867, the Legislature enacted the law under the authority of which the system, as thus organized and recognized, should proceed. That act provided for the placing of the destitute soldiers' orphans in such homes and schools, possessing such good and sufficient accommodations as the superintendent might provide, and in such other institutions as might be necessary for their proper maintenance and education, at the expense of the State, until they should arrive at the age of sixteen years ; after such age

should have been reached, each of such orphans who did not desire to be apprenticed to a trade or employment was to be returned to the mother, guardian or friend, with a full outfit of clothing, and a certificate of his or her standing in the school.

Governor Curtin was succeeded in his office, in 1867, by General John W. Geary, and his public connection with the schools was thus terminated. His official life had continued long enough, however, to convince him of the recognition by the State of the truth and force of his principle, and to demonstrate that his great desire would be, as it was, further developed and expanded by legislation. Still his active interest in the schools was continued during all the years of his life, and when that was ended, and his body was borne to the grave, it was accompanied by Mr. C. Day Rudy, the president, and Ed. T. Taylor, Ed. W. Grier and Alva S. Grow, members of the "Sixteeners" Association and graduates of the schools. The commonwealth, nay! even the whole nation, lamented his death, and his burial was accompanied by all the pomp and ritual at the command of the State. But he was by none more sincerely mourned than by those whom he had thus befriended, and none walked more sadly to his grave than did these representatives of the children whom he loved, and who had placed the tribute of their affection on the breast of their dead friend; the palms and roses of the graduates of the soldiers' orphan schools being the only offering upon his body as it lay in state in the court house at Bellefonte.

As this chapter was written in a desire to emphasize the value of Mr. Curtin's personality in the work, and as an humble memorial thereof, rather than as a detailed

history of the same, one might be inclined to think this a proper place for its ending. Yet, though he was assisted in the undertaking by many noble men and women, whose aid was great and at times important, his was the genius of the whole project. His single aim for its advancement, and his determined energy in its development, were the greatest factors in its final success, and so it will be proper to look a little further at its varied fortunes, the legislation surrounding it, and its subsequent culmination to its present condition. It is not intended that praise shall be taken from any one. The veterans of the war, as comrades of the Grand Army, had given great assistance and help by their warm and practical sympathy, and their active participation in the necessary labor connected with the schools. The governors who succeeded him were, for the most part, men who had fought upon the field, who knew the sorrows, the sacrifices and the sufferings of the soldiers, who could take a deep and practical interest in the success of the plan, and who did all that in them lay to make that success complete.

All honor to these, but still greater honor to the mind that conceived the idea, the heart that loved it, as did his, and the will and activity which neither slumbered nor slept until it became an admitted and accepted duty of the State.

For four years the schools were continued as thus constituted, but by an act of assembly, passed in 1871, the method was altered, in so far that the supervision was changed, and the duties at first performed by the superintendent of the soldiers' orphan schools were directed to be performed by the superintendent of common schools. This was a backward step, and was the very action that had been so pertinaciously condemned

and so vigorously opposed by Mr. Curtin. The schools were thus continued, until the year 1889, when the final change took place, which, in 1893, crystallized into the present Industrial School.

After a time criticisms of the management and suggestions of improper treatment of the children were heard. For a while they were vague and uncertain, but they gradually assumed more certainty, and finally appeared as definite charges in the public press. In consequence of these charges General J. P. S. Gobin, then commanding the Department of Pennsylvania, Grand Army of the Republic, early in 1886 appointed a committee to investigate the management of the schools. This committee had but organized when it was ascertained that Governor Pattison had taken upon himself "the thorough personal examination of the schools and the conduct of those connected with them." In the same year the Governor dismissed the then inspector and appointed General Louis Wagner in his place and stead. General Wagner had for many years been prominent in the Grand Army of the Republic, and had always taken a warm and active interest in the schools. He was, and is still, one of the trustees having in charge the Soldiers' Home, at Erie, Pa., and as a member for many years of the Board of Managers of Girard College for boys, in the city of Philadelphia, had acquired the peculiar experience necessary to fit him for such position. He continued as inspector until the twenty-eighth of April, 1887, serving without pay.

It is neither my province nor desire to enter into the merits of this dispute, or discuss the propriety or impropriety of the criticisms then made. I allude to them only to suggest that these charges and the resulting

investigations were at least the indirect cause of the subsequent change in the management of the system, and that thus they became the link connecting the old with the present administration. The result of this disturbance was the passage of the Act of 1889, similar in most of its provisions to that of 1885, which instituted the trustees of the Soldiers and Sailors' Home, at Erie. The management of the schools was therein removed from the Department of Common Schools and placed in the hands of a commission, composed of the Governor and five members of the General Assembly, together with five honorably discharged soldiers, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, who should serve without compensation, thereby distinctly recognizing the original desire and intention of Mr. Curtin, that the system should constitute a distinct department, the responsibility and control of which should rest primarily with the Governor and his appointees.

It was soon evident to this commission that the system was weak and faulty in one of its most important elements. As fast as they arrived at the age of sixteen years the scholars were graduated, and all control over them then ceased. The girls had but reached an age peculiarly tender and susceptible to evil influences, whilst the boys were compelled to face the world, and look forward into the future, without such equipment as would enable them to maintain themselves. This imperfection had been noted long before, and had been alluded to in the reports of the superintendent as early as 1881. Whilst the matter of industrial training had always been considered a part of the education of the scholars, no appropriation had been made therefor, and nothing ever done to carry the theory into practice.

The buildings then in use were totally inadequate for any such purpose, and the life of the system was necessarily so uncertain, and the time of the closing of the schools so indefinite, that it would hardly have been fair to compel those having them in charge to erect the necessary plants, and thus tie up large amounts of money in buildings and machinery, which would certainly soon become comparatively valueless.

The fact remains, however, that apart from an occasional detail to work upon a farm, assist the shoemaker at his bench, or study dressmaking in the rooms of the matron, nothing was taught these children beyond the ordinary subjects of a common school education. They might fit themselves for teachers, but were unprepared for most of the methods of earning a livelihood. The matter was laid before the Legislature by the commission, in its annual reports, and in the year 1893 the defect was remedied by an act, which provided for the erection of the Pennsylvania Soldiers' Orphan Industrial School, the necessary appropriation for the equipment thereof, and the maintenance of the children admitted therein. Such a school, with the necessary buildings, is now in process of erection, at the village of Scotland, about four miles north of Chambersburg, in Franklin County. Its Administration Building is so nearly completed that it is expected to be opened to the scholars at the commencement of the fall term of the year 1895, and thereafter a part of the curriculum of that school will be a thorough and practical mechanical education.

It is worthy of notice that this industrial school is the completion, or rather the fulfillment of the project, as originally planned by Mr. Curtin; and that for the first time in its history the State has become the owner, as

he contended it should be, of the buildings and the plant, wherein the scholars are maintained and educated. This Soldiers' Industrial School will be a monument to Mr. Curtin for generations yet to come, and when the sufferings and agony of the war, with its consequent orphanage of children, shall have become but a memory, a paragraph in the history of the age and the nation, that school, standing as it does, in the beautiful Cumberland Valley, full of the traditions of that strife, will emphasize the personality of Mr. Curtin in this great and beneficent movement of the State. It will tell the world that republics are not necessarily ungrateful, as in this commonwealth, at least, the orphans of the soldiers were cared for by the State, in defence of which her sons as soldiers fought and died.

The Act of 1867, which, as has been suggested, was the first recognition of the system by statutory law, concerned only the destitute orphan children of deceased soldiers and sailors, who had died in the service; and prior to the year 1874, children born after the first of January, 1866, were not admitted to the schools. In that year, however, this restriction was removed, and in 1875-6, the door was opened to the destitute children of sick and disabled, as well as of deceased soldiers. These provisions were subsequently still further broadened, to allow the admission of any destitute soldier's orphan, whose father had died from any cause whatsoever. The Act of 1893, authorizing the erection of the State Industrial School, more fully provides for the care of all, irrespective of the date of their birth or the time of the death of the father.

Surprise is often expressed that there should be soldiers' orphans at the present time, and that these schools

are still necessary for their education and support. The idea undoubtedly was, at first, to care only for the children of soldiers who had died in battle, or from wounds or disease incurred in the service ; but the truth of the principle soon became recognized, that the men who returned were often as incapacitated by their hardships as were those who had died. Many, too, who in the strength of their young manhood could successfully fight against disease, were weakened as years grew upon them, and were finally utterly powerless to care for their little one. It would seem to be but honorable and proper to remember and care for the children of the faithful who had since died, and are dying now, and that there should be no line of demarcation between the loyalty and heroism of the living and the dead. Those who returned were as brave, as heroic and as self-sacrificing as those who did not ; all were good, brave and true, and in the schools to-day the orphans of all are welcome and will be cared for, until the last shall have been graduated.

There are now, under the care of the commission, about eight hundred and forty children, ranging from extreme childhood to the years that approach the graduation period. At the time of the opening of the Scotland School there will be upward of one thousand. There were admitted, up to the thirty-first day of May, 1894, 15,268 boys and girls. The total cost of the system, as shown by the annual reports up to the same date, was \$9,974,900.12. The approximate cost, under the Act of 1889, does not exceed \$140 per capita, whilst the amount allowed to be expended upon each child in the Industrial School is \$200 per annum. Although this aggregate may seem to be large, and it certainly commends to us the liberality of the State, it is nevertheless an economy,

which will prove its value in the next generation. The amount of good that has been done by instilling higher and more intelligent ideas of living into these children, many of whom must otherwise necessarily have fallen into the lower strata of society and become an expense, if nothing worse, to the State, cannot be measured by any mathematical calculation. They have been saved by the State, and for the State, and they bid fair to leave a good impression upon its citizenship. Thousands of them have gone forth leaving behind, and making for the future, records as high as are reached at any university, college, high school or similar institution in the land. It is not contended that all have lived up to the hopes entertained for them. There are some who prefer to wallow in the mire of idleness and sloth, which certainly leads to crime, rather than to adopt the methods of honest toil and industry. Others have fallen away and drifted back again into environments which lead to evil, but they are so few as to make the exceptions noticeable. By far the greater number, however, have on the contrary made of themselves respected men and fathers and honored women and mothers. They are to be found in all the professions and pursuits of the commonwealth. Some have gained high positions of honor and confidence, some are to-day in the halls of legislation, whilst many are pursuing their quiet ways in the business walks of life. It is no degradation to have been a member of these schools, for their graduates carry with them the undoubted stamp of the loyalty, the suffering and the heroism of their fathers. They were honored by the State in its great liberality and care, not as those who besought its charity, but as its wards, and in full recognition of the heroism of their fathers. They honor

the State in the lives they are leading, and in the great future will bring more enduring glory to the system, in their appreciation of this liberality and in the higher lives resulting therefrom. The work was a great and grand one, belonging to great and grand times, and history has never recorded any movement of greater majesty or glory. The author of this system and its unswerving friend in the time of its trouble and extremity, its always faithful adviser and guide, and the one who never faltered in season or out of season, who was determined upon its success, who ceased not his work till this success was assured, and who should be honored therefor, was Andrew G. Curtin; and the brightest leaf in the coronet of his great life is the one placed there in loving affection by the graduates of the Soldiers' Orphan Schools.

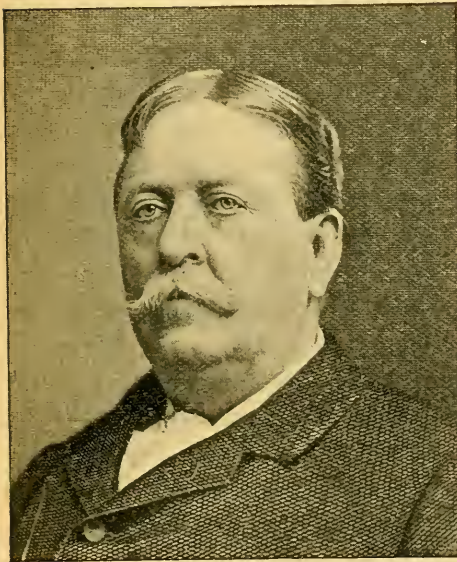
A proper closing of this chapter is the record of the action of the commission upon his death, as follows:

The Commission of Soldiers' Orphan Schools of the State of Pennsylvania, recognizing in the late Andrew Gregg Curtin the genius and inspiration of the movement that crystallized in the establishment of the Soldiers' Orphan Schools of this State, at their first meeting since the death of the lamented ex-governor of the commonwealth, desire to bear testimony to his unselfish devotion and persistent energy, which continued with unflagging determination through all the mutations that visited these schools until at last they were developed into that system which was his original intention. These schools carried out the pledge given to the fathers of these children when they went to battle for the union, and will be recognized as one of the greatest movements in the life of the commonwealth.

Andrew Gregg Curtin deserved and was the recipient of many honors, and was an important factor in many great works. He was a conspicuous figure in the history of a great commonwealth, but no greater work was done, or higher honor achieved, than the creation of the schools which care for and educate the orphans of Pennsylvania's soldiers, as the wards of the State.

CURTIN AND THE ALTOONA CONFERENCE.

BY JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.



JOHN RUSSELL YOUNG.

No incident in the civil phases of the rebellion is more notable than what was known as the Altoona Conference. It took place at the darkest hour of the war. Apart from one or two successes in the West—Donelson, for instance—the South had shown herself in the field masterful and dominant. Lee had in-

flicted upon us the disasters of Manassas, our armies under Pope huddling under the Washington fortifications. Antietam proved to be a drawn battle, a check to the South, but not in any fruitful sense a victory to the North. European powers headed by Napoleon were proposing intervention. Over the North spread a sentiment of despair, intensified by the abnormal activity of

that large section of the North which sympathized with the Confederacy and would have rejoiced in its success.

Governor Curtin, with a deeper insight into the public heart than perhaps any statesman of the time, saw that what the government needed even more than material aid was the moral reinforcement that would come from an expression of confidence on the part of the Governors of the loyal States. These magistrates believed in the Union, but there were differences of opinion upon emancipation, confiscation, habeas corpus and other collateral questions, and it required tact to attain a consensus of action. The border States were for gentler methods of warfare than their brethren of the East, to whom war was a sentiment rather than an apparent fact. They were safe from the immediate horrors which at times distressed the border States, and there was likewise the natural sympathy which could not be rended between such commonwealths as Delaware, Kentucky and Maryland, for instance, where families were often divided under contending flags, kinsmen and neighbors like Virginia and Tennessee in active rebellion.

There was an impatience with President Lincoln in commonwealths like Massachusetts and Vermont. They saw a supposed lassitude on the question of slavery. New York, a commercial State, with her own especial interests always in view, had been proud, reserved and indifferent. There was furthermore, in New York, a volcanic element, menacing, resenting the war, threatening mutiny, and soon to break out into those wanton draft riots, ever to be deplored as the one ignominious experience of the war.

Curtin, ever an optimist, ever worshipping the Union

with an almost oriental fervor, enthusiastic, untiring, magnanimous and resolute, always seeing with the eye of the statesman and from Pennsylvania's point of view, that prudence was the highest wisdom, and that the Union would only be preserved by reconciling the opinions and consolidating the forces that composed the Union, divined the thought that Mr. Lincoln could have no surer support than what would come from a conference between the governors of the loyal States. It would at least result in a frank and genuine exchange of opinions, the attainment of a common ground upon which the North could stand as a unit. The suggestion of Governor Curtin was the genius of compromise and common sense. He saw, as Henry Clay had seen before him, that in compromise alone could the ultimate success of the Union cause be attained.

The only known record of this conference is that of Governor Austin Blair, of Michigan. The Governor deemed it desirable that the story should be told by one of those who took part in it. It was wholly private and informal. No records were kept of its objects or its doings, and no reporters were present to give to the public press what was said or done. The only history attainable therefore rests upon the memory of the gentlemen who took part.

There was no formal organization, no secretary, and no record even made at the time of the names of those present who formed the conference.

As will be seen there were governors of the loyal States absent, because of public reasons, but in entire sympathy. The majority of them were present, and took part in the deliberations. The names of thirteen of those appear attached to the address to President

Lincoln, and some of them subscribed after the adjournment.

The invitation and correspondence were by telegraph entirely and began at the instance of Governor Curtin, addressed to Governor John A. Andrew, of Massachusetts, dated September 6, 1862, as follows :

“In the present emergency would it not be well if the loyal governors should meet at some point in the border States to take measures for a more active support of the government?”

To this Governor Andrew replied on the same day, that should a meeting be called he would attend.

On the fourteenth of September, 1862, a call was issued in these words :

“We invite a meeting of the governors of the loyal States, to be held at Altoona, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-fourth instant.”

A. G. CURTIN, Pennsylvania,
DAVID TOD, Ohio,
F. H. PIERPONT, Virginia.

This call was sent to all the governors by telegraph, and was accepted by most of them. Governor Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, declined.

The suggestion of the meeting of the governors had been made to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, by Governor Curtin, in a conversation in the city of New York, immediately after the disastrous Peninsular campaign. Governor Curtin happening to be in New York, asked for a conference at the Astor House, where they met. Mr. Seward had with him the Mayor of Philadelphia, had called upon the Mayor of New York, and was intending to visit Boston to see the Mayor of that city, upon some plan of increasing the army with the view of a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

At this interview between Governor Curtin and the Secretary of State, the Governor suggested that it would be better if action should be taken not by the mayors of large cities, but by the governors of the loyal States. Mr. Seward brightened at the thought, telegraphed its purport to President Lincoln, who warmly approved of the plan. At this meeting was the first inception of what was known as the Altoona Conference.

It was a memorable company that assembled in that little Pennsylvania town. There was Curtin in his prime, a face radiant with glorious youth and in his splendid eyes a courage and fascination that few could escape. Here he is as sketched in a pen-picture by the vigilant correspondent of a New York journal: "Governor Curtin is in the neighborhood of six feet in stature, well proportioned, easy and somewhat careless in his manner, every motion denoting energy; a playful expression in his mouth and eyes that would indicate that he could tell humorous stories; face smoothly shaven; wearing a slouch hat most of the time, well pulled over his forehead; walking, his head inclined forward, hands in his pockets; easy and familiar in his manner and having the mark of superior intelligence."

Conspicuous as the champion of that stern, implacable anti-slavery sentiment which inspired and swayed the Union cause, was John Albion Andrew, Governor of Massachusetts. Andrew was a young man, forty-four, and to the great loss of his party and the State, to pass away at forty-nine. He was an Abolitionist, and to be an Abolitionist even then, the war upon us, slavery doomed by the Proclamation of Emancipation, was a questionable if not a hated name. He had been nominated as governor against the wishes of his party and

because of the impulse arising out of the war, the incandescent spirit of Massachusetts which no political genius could temper or curtail, was elected by the largest vote ever cast for a candidate. He represented what might be called the conscience of the Abolition cause. He was to be chosen four times—to send the first regiments to the relief of Washington and the first colored troops to the field—to be the embodiment of the anti-slavery sentiment in the war. Andrew we find described in the newspaper reports as “rather below medium height, somewhat stoutly built; full, reddish face,” anticipating perhaps the sudden death too soon so sadly to befall him; “hair brown and curly, but very thick; a solid teeming energetic figure; deeply religious, the incarnation of the Puritanism of the war.”

There was David Tod, of Ohio, a memorable man in many ways. Past the middle age; “a decided substantial man,” as the reporters saw him walking about with Curtin on the Altoona byways. He had been an earnest Democrat, Minister to Brazil, president of the Democratic convention which nominated Stephen A. Douglas, after Caleb Cushing skipped from the chair and ran over to a seceding convention to nominate Breckenridge. Tod was the representative leader of the War Democracy of the North, and as such, dear to Lincoln, who vainly sought to make him Secretary of the Treasury, upon the resignation of Mr. Chase.

There was Washburn, of Maine, head of a famous house; brother of the Elisha B. Washburn, who was to be Minister to France; of Cadwalader, the gallant soldier; of Charles, the diplomatist, and of William, who has just withdrawn from an honorable service as senator from Minnesota. Yates, of Illinois, was there; “Dick

Yates" as everybody would call him; "showy in dress;" as our newspaper friends discerned, "probably more dressy than most public men of the West; smooth face, dark eyes and hair, the latter brushed with the utmost care." Yates was then in his forty-fourth year, had served in Congress as "the youngest member," thus attaining that not always to be valued gift "of universal popularity." It is not his smallest title to renown that he discovered Grant and gave that illustrious captain his first commission.

Kirkwood, of Iowa, who was to linger long in public life, was there. "The most careless man in his dress," as is likewise reported, "large slouch hat, with a farmer-like coat and vest." A cautious, considerate, and successful statesman. Born in Maryland, he cast his fortunes with the West. He declined high office under Lincoln, preferring to govern Iowa. Governor, senator and governor once more, Kirkwood left the Senate to enter the Cabinet of Garfield.

Nathaniel Springer Berry, Governor of New Hampshire, "large, plain, farmer-like," perhaps the oldest member of the conference, had in his veins the blood of the Revolution. Tanner and currier, colonel of militia and judge. He had been a Democrat until freedom became an issue, when he was elected Republican governor. His energy in sending troops was phenomenal.

Among the others who took part in the conference, either by their personal attendance or by representation, as in the case of Morton, of Indiana, detained in his State by threats of imminent invasion, were Austin Blair, of Michigan. Blair was a young man, a New Yorker, who had floated into Michigan to be governor and hold other high employments; a painstaking and just

man. Olden, of New Jersey, formerly a merchant, the friend of Princeton College, a moderate Republican, resting somewhat under the shadow of the cynical, commercial Republicanism of New York, gave the movement a reserved sympathy. There likewise was Buckingham, of Connecticut, high in temperance movements and church councils, advanced in years, touching the seventies, a lofty and impressive figure, dear to all who value what his incomparable little State did for the Union.

There also was Sprague, of Rhode Island, the boy of the conference, and with some sad thought, I fancy the last survivor of the company. Head of one of the great manufacturing institutions of New England, "wearing a military fatigue cap," says the reporter, "looking like a boy of eighteen;" silent, taciturn, famous for a personal courage which he had shown under fire at Bull Run; an original, intrepid, if at times an eccentric genius.

The answers of the governors of the loyal States are worthy of consideration. Governor Andrew, of Boston, responded promptly and in telegraphing to Governor Washburn, of Maine, expressed the hope that all New England governors might be able to be present. Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, replied in the same spirit. The Governor of Vermont said: "It would certainly be a pleasure to attend that meeting, but my labors are now constant and arduous, inasmuch in addition to getting our nine-months troops into camp and ready for marching orders, the session of the Legislature commences in less than three weeks, and I have not yet found time to make the least preparation for it."

We can understand the value of the suggestion of Governor Curtin which led to the Altoona Conference when we remember that the advent of the Rebellion brought the governors of the loyal States into unusual and commanding prominence. Upon them, under our State system, devolved the raising and equipment and direction of the troops summoned by the President to defend the Union. To these governors a call for troops was sent and upon their loyalty rested the responsibility of meeting that call with promptness and efficiency. The governors enlisted the volunteers, organized the regiments, commissioned the officers and sent them so organized to the army at the front of the battle.

The importance of such a service and its economy and efficiency could not be over-estimated. It brought the governors at once into intimate relations with the President and Secretary of War.

The consequence was that being loyal men, devoted to the Union, they became many of them trusted advisers of the President in everything pertaining to the war, especially raising of the troops in the several States. It was a matter of honor that they should be successful in raising the quotas of the State, and as a consequence it was found necessary to visit the department at Washington from time to time when these quotas were under discussion. Consultations among the governors on informal matters became frequent as they came together at the War Department or the White House and out of these discussions naturally was evolved the whole course of the war.

At the outbreak of the Rebellion there had been a conference of the governors of the Northwestern States, at the suggestion of Governor William Dennison, of

Ohio. This was attended by governors of Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, or their agents. It was at this conference that it was learned for the first time that George B. McClellan had been appointed general of the troops of the State of Ohio.

The result of this Altoona Conference was not intended as an influence upon the administration. It was rather a moral pressure than a direct suggestion. The governors were careful to avoid anything that might seem to embarrass the government or invade the prerogative of the President. They were rather a moral force submitted by the great States of the Union, as individual advisers as to the policy of the government. There were some eminent men, and all men of influence and authority in the States. Therefore as a consequence of this conference, the personal friendships and exchanges of opinion, it was natural that the Altoona meeting should take place.

There was to be entire liberty of action, and no pre-conceived policy to be laid out and enforced. The governors came as in effect rulers of their respective commonwealths, compelled to no absolute interest; their one aim to reach a conclusion as to what would be best to recommend to Mr. Lincoln toward a more vigorous prosecution of the war.

Many and perhaps a majority of the governors believed that the time had come for ordaining the freedom of the slaves and for the Proclamation of Emancipation to extend over the whole Confederacy and break the force of the negro support of the war. Negro labor, on plantations especially—raising food and providing supplies for the armies of the Southern Confederacy—was as potent an influence against the North as the most

powerful of the Southern armies. It was felt that Emancipation alone could destroy that force. That question might have been considered in the conference with entire respect to the President, but it was rendered unnecessary by the proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, declaring Emancipation. In other words, the President anticipated what might have been an outcome of the Altoona Conference by ordaining Emancipation.

It was a military situation that summoned the conference. What the governors had to consider was this: That the campaign that had opened in the spring of 1862 with brilliant success, had failed. While in the West there had been triumph under the armies of Grant and other commanders, General McClellan, with a great army, carefully organized and drilled, had not captured the Confederate capital. This movement of McClellan, coming after the achievements of the Western armies, led the country to expect the highest results; nothing less than the downfall of the Confederate capital and a collapse of the Rebellion. History will tell how completely these hopes were broken. Failure was written upon every movement of the army; its final retreat to James River, and back to Washington, crouching under the guns of the forts of the capital. Gloom was spread over the loyal States on account of these disasters, and the movements of General Lee's armies into the border States occasioned depression and apprehension. It was necessary to relieve the situation promptly, and nothing could be accomplished so completely and effectually as the energetic action of the War Governors. This was the thought of Curtin, and as a consequence, the conference was summoned.

Therefore on the twenty-fourth of September, 1862,

in answer to Governor Curtin, these magistrates met at Altoona. During the interval between the call and the meeting the skies had brightened, and on September 17, 1862, Antietam was fought. This was a substantial victory so far as the invasion of the North was concerned. Lee was compelled to cross the Potomac again, falling back upon his Virginia strongholds. This retreat was followed by the Emancipation Proclamation of Mr. Lincoln, issued on the twenty-second day of December, 1862. There was still much to be done, for while General Lee had been compelled to retreat, the danger was not passed by any means. As military critics well say, he had retreated with an army in fair condition, but an army which should have been destroyed. It was falling back to refresh itself, to gain new strength, and fight other battles against the Union.

As I have said, speaking from the record of one who was present at the Altoona Conference, it was wholly informal. There were no minutes, no debates. The results were carefully embodied in an address to President Lincoln. This was written by Governor Andrew and signed by most of the governors who were present. It was afterward sent to those who had not been able to attend the conference, although their sympathy with its purpose was accepted, with the request that they would sign, if they approved of it, which most of them did.

There were many subjects considered at the conference at Altoona, not mentioned in the address to President Lincoln. Governor Kirkwood, of Iowa, in an article referring to the deliberations of this patriotic body, has since recorded that its members discussed the condition

of military affairs and especially the fitness of General McClellan for supreme command. On this point the Governor reports some difference of opinion, but the recollection of Governor Blair, of Michigan, is that a decided majority of governors present were of the opinion that the public welfare would be promoted by the retirement of General McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac. According to Governor Blair, there was not the same accord of opinion upon this point as there was in regard to the Emancipation Proclamation. It was therefore decided that the address to President Lincoln should not include any expression of opinion as to the military fitness of McClellan.

It was also resolved that the governors should visit Washington and meet President Lincoln, and that each should be at liberty to say to him what he thought best on that or any other subject. The Altoona Conference adjourned on the second day of its meeting, to meet again at Washington the next day. In pursuance of that resolution, the governors visited Washington and called on Mr. Lincoln in a body.

President Lincoln received the governors and the interview was entirely private. There were no reporters present, not even the President's secretaries. No report of what occurred or what was said at the interview was made public outside of the address. This was read to President Lincoln by Governor Andrew, as follows :

ADDRESS OF THE LOYAL GOVERNORS.

To the President, Adopted at a Meeting of Governors of Loyal States, held to Take Measures for the More Active Support of the Government, at Altoona, Pennsylvania, on the Twenty-fourth day of September, 1862:

After nearly one year and a half spent in contest with an armed and gigantic rebellion against the national government of the United States, the duty and purpose of the loyal States and people continue, and must always remain as they were at its origin—namely, to restore and perpetuate the authority of this government and the life of the nation. No matter what consequences are involved in our fidelity, this work of restoring the Republic, preserving the institutions of democratic liberty, and justifying the hopes and toils of our fathers shall not fail to be performed.

And we pledge without hesitation, to the President of the United States, the most loyal and cordial support, hereafter, as heretofore, in the exercise of the functions of his great office. We recognize in him the Chief Executive Magistrate of the nation, the Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, their responsible and constitutional head, whose rightful authority and power, as well as the constitutional powers of Congress, must be rigorously and religiously guarded and preserved, as the condition on which alone our form of government and the constitutional rights and liberties of the people themselves can be saved from the wreck of anarchy or from the gulf of despotism.

In submission to the laws which may have been or which may be duly enacted, and to the lawful orders of the President, co-operating always in our own spheres, with the national government, we mean to continue in the most vigorous exercise of all our lawful and proper powers, contending against treason, rebellion, and the public enemies, and whether in public life or in private station, supporting the arms of the Union, until its cause shall conquer, until final victory shall perch upon its standard, or the rebel foe shall yield a dutiful, rightful and unconditional submission.

And, impressed with the conviction that an army of reserve ought, until the war shall end, to be constantly kept on foot, to be raised, armed, equipped and trained at home, and ready for emergencies, we respectfully ask the President to call for such a force of volunteers for one year's service, of not less than one hundred thousand in the aggregate, the quota of each State to be raised after it shall have filled its quota of the requisitions already made, both for volunteers and militia. We believe that this would be a measure of military

prudence, while it would greatly promote the military education of the people.

We hail with heartfelt gratitude and encouraged hope the proclamation of the President, issued on the twenty-second instant, declaring emancipated from their bondage all persons held to service or labor as slaves in the rebel States, whose rebellion shall last until the first day of January now next ensuing. The right of any person to retain authority to compel any portion of the subjects of the national government, to rebel against it, or to maintain its enemies, implies in those who are allowed possession of such authority the right to rebel themselves; and therefore the right to establish martial law or military government in a State or Territory in rebellion implies the right and the duty of the government to liberate the minds of all men living therein by appropriate proclamations and assurances of protection, in order that all who are capable, intellectually and morally, of loyalty and obedience, may not be forced into treason as the unwilling tools of rebellious traitors. To have continued indefinitely the most efficient cause, support and stay of the rebellion, would have been, in our judgment, unjust to the loyal people whose treasure and lives are made a willing sacrifice on the altar of patriotism—would have discriminated against the wife who is compelled to surrender her husband, against the parent who is to surrender his child, to the hardships of the camp and the perils of battle, in favor of rebel masters permitted to retain their slaves. It would have been a final decision alike against humanity, justice, the rights and dignity of the government, and against sound and wise national policy. The decision of the President to strike at the root of the rebellion will lend new vigor to the efforts and new life and hope to the hearts of the people. Cordially tendering to the President our respectful assurances of personal and official confidence, we trust and believe that the policy now inaugurated will be crowned with success, will give speedy and triumphant victories over our enemies, and secure to this nation and this people the blessing and favor of Almighty God. We believe that the blood of the heroes who have already fallen, and those who may yet give their lives to their country, will not have been shed in vain.

The splendid valor of our soldiers, their patient endurance, their manly patriotism, and their devotion to duty, demand from us and from all their countrymen the homage of the sincerest gratitude and the pledge of our constant reinforcement and support. A just regard for these brave men, whom we have contributed to place in the field, and for the importance of the duties which may lawfully pertain to us hereafter, has called us into friendly conference. And now, presenting to our national Chief Magistrate this conclusion of our deliberations,

we devote ourselves to our country's service, and we will surround the President with our constant support, trusting that the fidelity and zeal of the loyal States and people will always assure him that he will be constantly maintained in pursuing with the utmost vigor the war for the preservation of the national life and the hope of humanity.

A. G. CURTIN,
JOHN A. ANDREW,
RICHARD YATES,
ISRAEL WASHBURN, JR.,
EDWARD SOLOMON,
SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD,
O. P. MORTON (by D. G. ROSE, his representative),
WM. SPRAGUE,
F. H. PIERPONT,
DAVID TOD,
N. S. BERRY,
AUSTIN BLAIR.

The address was sent to all the loyal governors. Governor Sprague, of Rhode Island, accepted the same day. Governor Olden, of New Jersey, declined to sign. Addison C. Gibbs, of Oregon, and Governor Robinson, of Kansas, assented. Governor H. R. Gamble, of Missouri, declined on account of his "apprehension of any good from the proclamation of the emancipation." Governor Robinson, of Kentucky, said: "While I cordially approve of many of the sentiments, I dissent from that portion which endorses President Lincoln's proclamation, and therefore decline signing the address, reserving to myself, the right hereafter to give my reasons." Governor Ramsay, of Minnesota, assented. Governor William Borden, of Delaware, "declined respectfully to append his name to the address, not believing in the policy of emancipation." Governor Buckingham, of Connecticut, cordially approved of the loyal address, as well as Governor Holbrook, of Vermont. Governor Morgan, of New York, dissented because, "it

would be more in accordance with his sense of propriety to express his views in another manner than subscribing to the proceedings of a meeting at which he had not been present."

After Governor Andrew had read the address, President Lincoln made a short and pleasant reply, somewhat conservative, based upon the all-engrossing subject of the military situation.

Governor Kirkwood, of Iowa, then arose, and addressing President Lincoln, said substantially as follows :

"Now, Mr. President, as I suppose the business for which we came here as a body has been concluded, there are a few words that I desire to speak for the people of Iowa, and on my own account. That in the opinion of our people George B. McClellan is unfit to command the Army of the Potomac. The people of Iowa fear, and I fear, that the administration is afraid to remove General McClellan from his command. And I know it would be a great comfort to the people of Iowa if on my return I can say to them that the President believes in the loyalty of George B. McClellan. His army is well clothed, well armed, well disciplined, and fighting in as good a cause as men ever fought for, and fought as bravely as men ever fought, and yet are continually whipped, and our people did not think he was a good general who was always whipped." And in closing, Governor Kirkwood repeated that it would be a gratification to the people of Iowa if he could say to them that the President believed in the loyalty of George B. McClellan.

When Governor Kirkwood had finished, President Lincoln arose immediately, and in his speech, showing more excitement than was usual to him, at once

proceeded to reply. He said: "Do I believe in the loyalty of General McClellan? Of course I believe in his loyalty. I have the same reason to believe in his loyalty that I have to believe in the loyalty of you gentlemen before me now. I suppose you to be loyal, and I believe he is loyal. I cannot dive into the hearts of men to find what is in them."

Then the President paused for a moment, and continued: "Now, gentlemen, after saying so much in favor of General McClellan, I do not want you to think I do not know his deficiencies; I think I do know them. He is very cautious, and lacking in confidence in himself and his ability to win victories with the forces at his command. He fights the battle about as well as any of them when he does fight, but when a substantial victory is won he seems incapable of following it up so as to reach the fruits, and it does not seem to do us any good. But if I remove him, some one must be put in his place, and who shall it be?"

When President Lincoln sat down, Governor Blair, of Michigan, asked, coolly: "Why not try another man, Mr. President?" to which the President replied: "Oh, but I might lose an army by that."

The excitement that arose out of this discussion and the suggestion of General McClellan's command disappeared, and the interview closed pleasantly; the hopes of the President and his confidence unshaken. This was equally true of the governors, and they immediately returned to their States to fulfill the promise of their address; and they did fulfill them to the letter, as the country well knows.

Governor Blair, of Michigan, the historian of the conference, as far as the records of the country's history

reveal, writes as follows of the effect of the convention :

“What effect,” says Governor Blair, “the conference had upon the country and upon the administration is mainly a matter of inference. The publication of the address to the President at once made known to the people the vigorous policy recommended by the governors ; and that it had some influence in restoring confidence in the ability of the government to sustain itself is undoubted. That it promoted enlistments in the States and infused greater activity into the recruiting service, and tended greatly to strengthen the armies in the field, and to silence discontent amongst the disloyal elements in the loyal States, there can be no question.

“It was also very evident at the time that the unanimous agreement of the loyal governors to sustain the administration in its efforts to increase the army rapidly and promote its strength, both in numbers and activity, were very grateful to the President, and not by any means without its influence upon the future policy of the administration.

“There had existed from the commencement of the war a considerable party in the Northern States that professed to believe that the South could not be conquered ; but that at last a compromise would have to be made that would leave to the South the institution of slavery intact, and with more effectual guarantees for its protection in the future. This party was greatly encouraged by the failure of McClellan in the Peninsular Campaign and the disasters that followed it.

“The unanimity of the governors and the vigorous address of the conference in favor of a more energetic prosecution of the war, together with the Emancipation

Proclamation of the President, had a great effect to shut the mouths and paralyze the efforts of the so-called peace party. The conference showed no signs of discouragement, but its action, on the contrary, proved its absolute confidence in the ability of the country to put down the rebellion, as well as a determination to employ the entire power of the loyal States to that end.

“Some illy informed persons have asserted that the call for the conference had occasioned the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation. The proclamation itself was issued and published to the country two days before the conference assembled.

“That assertion was certainly not true. It was well understood by all men in any way conversant with the views of President Lincoln, that he had for a long time contemplated the proclamation and only waited for a favorable occasion to put it forth.”

Governor Blair continues with this suggestive historical incident: “On the twenty-fifth of January,” he writes, “the ‘conscription bill’ being under consideration in the House of Representatives in Washington, a discussion arose upon this subject. It was begun by Mr. Mallory, a member of the House, from Kentucky. He was attacking the policy of the administration in regard to slavery, and in that connection he said:

“‘A set of factious governors of Northern States, after having in conjunction with leading radical traitors, in vain urged and pressed the President to change his policy, met at Altoona, in the State of Pennsylvania, and informed the President that unless his policy was changed, unless the extermination of slavery was made the object and purpose of the war, and not the restoration of the authority of the constitution and laws over the

rebellious States ; that if slavery was not put in process of extirpation they would stop the war ; that not one of their States would rally to the standard he had raised for the purpose of vindicating the constitution and the laws. Then, as if by magic, the policy of the government changed.

“‘I say, Mr. Speaker, that it was that meeting of factious governors, at Altoona, and the pressure they brought to bear and had previously with others brought to bear on the President of the United States, who is weaker than a man ought to be who sits at the head of our government and holds the reins of power in a nation like the United States, that caused him to abandon his original policy, which was successful, which was admirable ; and to take up that other policy which has failed, and which gentlemen on the other side acknowledge to have failed.’”

Governor Blair then proceeds to point out the fallacy of this argument. “It is evident,” he wrote, “that Mr. Mallory knew nothing accurately concerning the conference at Altoona, had never read the address to the President, nor considered the fact that the proclamation was issued before the conference assembled, and was in fact, the act of the President alone, though it met with a hearty response from the conference and the people of the loyal States as well, and now has become one of the principal supports of the great and ever increasing fame of Abraham Lincoln.

“Mr. Mallory was merely talking politics and very much at random, but before the discussion closed Mr. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, corrected the error of this ‘gentleman from Kentucky’ very fully in substance, though falling himself into the error of admitting that

the conference assembled at Altoona before the proclamation was issued, which was a mistake by the space of two days.”

But the statement of Mr. Boutwell that the conference had nothing to do with the issuing of the proclamation was entirely correct.

The whole history of that proclamation, its consideration by the President and his Cabinet and its final issue on the twenty-second day of September, 1862, is now well known and has become a matter of current history.

The conference at Altoona had a distinct purpose, and that purpose it fully accomplished. A small number of the governors of the loyal States, for reasons of personal prudence, declined to sign the address, but there was substantially no opposition to the policy it set forth.

That the government was to be triumphant in the end, and that chattel slavery would perish with the rebellion, none of them doubted, and they immediately returned to their States and again set in more active motion all the powers they possessed to fill up the ranks of the army, add vigor and strength to the government and hasten the downfall of a rebellion that was both causeless and wicked.

The position of Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, a distinguished and loyal statesman, is perhaps worthy of an especial word of comment.

The Governor was among the first to accept an invitation of Governor Curtin to attend the conference. Something happened, however, possibly a publication in the New York *Herald*, to excite a suspicion as to the entire candor of a movement that brought the governors to Altoona, and out of this arose a correspondence which I print:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

BOSTON, October 22, 1862.

To Daniel Henshaw, Esq.,
Boston.

My dear Sir: In reply to your note, which was received this evening, I have the honor to say that the loyal governors, who met at Altoona on the twenty-fourth of September last, were called together by the joint invitation of the governors of Ohio, Virginia and Pennsylvania, by telegrams, of which the following are copies, and I annex also copies of my replies :

“ HARRISBURG, September 6, 1862.

“ *Governor Andrew, Boston, via New York :*

“ In the present emergency would it not be well that the loyal governors should meet at some point in the border States to take measures for the more active support of the government? An immediate reply is requested, that as early a day as possible may be named for the meeting, if approved.

“ A. G. CURTIN.”

“ BOSTON, September 6, 1862.

“ *To Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa., via New York :*

“ Should any meeting be called I will attend.

“ JOHN A. ANDREW.”

“ COLUMBUS, Ohio, September 14, 1862.

“ *To Governor Andrew :*

“ We invite a meeting of the governors of the loyal States, to be held at Altoona, Pennsylvania, on the twenty-fourth instant. Please reply to Governor Curtin.

“ ANDREW G. CURTIN,

“ DAVID TOD,

“ F. H. PIERPONT.”

“ BOSTON, September 15, 1862.

“ *To Governor A. G. Curtin, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania :*

“ I have received your invitation and accept it.

“ JOHN A. ANDREW, Governor of Massachusetts.”

The meeting was one which, whether as citizens or as magistrates, we had a right to hold. And, in the discharge of our duties, many of which, connected with the military service of the United States (whose government relies wholly on the States for the raising and recruitment of the army), are difficult and complicated, it is easy to perceive how mutual consultation might be advantageous. It is even more easy to

see how natural it is for the governors of Ohio, Virginia and Pennsylvania, at the time this invitation was issued, to feel the grave importance to our States of lively and efficient support from every quarter to the national cause. Nor do I suppose that any person has ever doubted the propriety of the conduct of the Governor of Massachusetts in joining that consultation of governors, except the very persons who were swift to observe and exclaim that his name did not appear with the names of many other governors on a certain petition to the President last July. And had not the President's proclamation of freedom appeared, as it did (just one day before our meeting), sadly disappointing certain gentlemen who had rightly declared it a great merit and public duty to stand by the President, and had the Altoona conference been held and its address published without my name or presence, I have no manner of doubt that I should have felt the heat of their burning indignation at my slowness to unite with the conservative governors who summoned us to Altoona, in helping to strengthen the arm of the President and to increase his disposable force. As it was, those gentlemen were disturbed. They were cut off from making war on the President by their own recent avowals and declarations. But it was desirable that somebody should be abused. I was the Republican candidate for a re-election; I was a supporter of the President's proclamation and policy; was the most convenient scapegoat, and so they took me. I believe Judge Parker indicted me before his convention for causing the President's proclamation by going to Altoona the day after it was printed. And I presume that Mr. Saltonstall introduced the supposed proof that I imagined the removal of General McClellan as evidence in support of Judge Parker's indictment. For since Judge Parker seems to have reversed the order of cause and effect, in the making of his allegation, I can see no way of supporting it save by a similar muddle of logic and the confusion of truth with its opposite.

And now, my dear sir, the sober truth is simply this: (1). I read the President's proclamation in print on the morning of the twenty-third, with as much surprise as Judge Parker did, though perhaps with more pleasure. (2). I did not either formally or informally, directly or indirectly, at any time, move or suggest that the governors should interfere with the position of Major General McClellan, or of any other officers of the army or navy. Nor do I believe that any such motion was proposed by any one else. I heard none whatever, concerning that or any other general. But if you ask how so great a blunder has been made, I can only reply that when people seek to make a point against their neighbor by a sort of eavesdropping, by attempting to penetrate the private conversation of gentlemen and to betray their

confidential speeches, great blundering, if not something worse, will always be close at hand. They will usually contrive to report just what they hoped to hear.

I have written this with some fullness, and with entire freedom. Your venerable character and long devotion to the cause of good and just principles had a right to command me. But now I beg leave to remark : 1. That I utterly deny the moral right of gentlemen to carry on political controversies by trying to penetrate private circles, and to promulgate private conversation, which cannot affect the public unless made public.

2. That the gentlemen in question need not have sent to a third person to find out what I said at Altoona. I could have told them myself, if they had asked me. And they know me well enough to know that I am accustomed to act openly, without disguise or concealment, and, when convinced what I ought to do, without much hesitation.

In conclusion, I cannot but regret the tendency I observe to obtrude matters mainly personal upon the attention of the people. It is the great cause of Democratic constitutional representative government which is now on trial. Not the cause of any man on earth. We are contending for the very hopes of a future, for a grand and wonderful people over whom (fallen?) angels might pause to weep. The interests of no public man, civil or military, demand the thought of a loyal human being among us. And they weaken and belittle our moral position, while they tend to demoralize the public heart and mind, who attempt to hang the issue of national life on the sword of any leader. Wisdom will still live when all of this generation have gone under the dust; the people, country, humanity, will live when all who are now counted great, in peace or war, will have been forgotten and lost, even to history.

Believe me, sir, with high respect,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. ANDREW.

The protest of the resolute and impetuous Andrew is worthy of preservation as a part of the history of this memorable event. The Altoona Conference was, next to the Proclamation of Emancipation, the most decisive civil event of the war. It aroused the latent fires of the Union, brought discomfiture to those in the North who opposed the Union, taught the insurgent South that it must deal with the united North, that President Lincoln

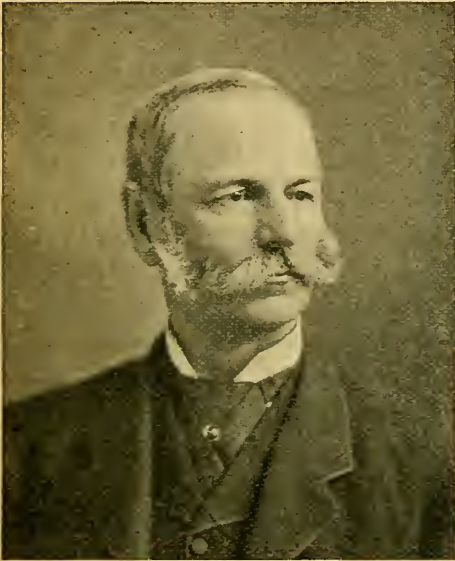
spoke as the voice of the American people. It gave new strength and hope to our brave soldiers in the field, and made sure that the Union cause would succeed. It was a noble, inestimable service, apt to be overlooked in the rush and roar of noisier events. And as Pennsylvanians we proudly and reverently owe it to the magnanimous, high-minded and undaunted Curtin.



STATE CAPITOL, IN 1866.

CURTIN'S EARLY WAR TRIALS.

BY FITZ JOHN PORTER.



FITZ JOHN PORTER.

The death of Hon. Andrew Gregg Curtin recalls events of intense interest, commencing with the opening of the late contest for the preservation of the Union and extending to its successful close. Throughout this momentous struggle he was an active participant within his sphere, advantage-

ously using, as Governor of Pennsylvania, every personal influence and every appropriate power of the State to sustain the government, to protect the State from invasion and injury, and also to secure the comforts and guard the interests of its soldiers. So effective was he in his administration that he justly earned the title universally bestowed upon him, of "The War Governor," and for his watchful interest and care the well-earned title of the "Soldiers' Friend."

Among the first marked evidences of a determination on the part of the administration of 1861 to preserve the general government in all its constituted vigor, was the President's call in April "for militia of the several States of the Union to suppress an unlawful combination, too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings, or by the powers vested in the marshals by law, and to cause the law to be duly executed."

The condition of the Southern States at the time was well known. Many had passed ordinances of secession; a Southern confederacy had been formed; demands had been made of the federal government for a recognition of their independence, and a military establishment had been organized to sustain and enforce their asserted independence. Arsenal within their limits had been seized and forts invested, whose surrender had been demanded but refused; the military supplies of a department had been surrendered to their control, and, eight companies excepted, the portion of the United States Army stationed on the southwestern frontier had been disarmed and was virtually held prisoner within the State of Texas. United States control in Southern harbors no longer existed; imports could not be collected; their revenue cutters had been seized; free access to Fort Sumter, held by United States troops, was resisted and effort to subsist its garrison had met armed resistance and proved abortive. A naval expedition of great power, carrying many troops, organized by the Secretary of the Navy, and sailing to its relief, was, unknown to him, deprived at the last moment of its commander (who alone was instructed), and was further crippled by its principal vessel being sent to a distant station, while

the object of the expedition—a cabinet secret—was divulged to the Confederate authorities. The secession was thereby encouraged, increasing as it advanced northward, and, unobstructed, was buoyantly passing over Virginia, and the swelling tide was being sympathetically felt in Maryland. The almost unguarded capital of the country, enveloped by two States, was in danger of being isolated from the Northern States, its only support, and of being claimed as the rightful property of the South. If, with all its insignia of power, the capital should fall into Southern hands, its possession would be urged as a reason for the recognition of the Southern Confederacy by foreign governments.

The North saw all the dangers; distrust in the firmness and vigor and promptness of the administration began to be expressed, boding it no good; the press demanded prompt and energetic action and a call upon the North for troops. Further acquiescence by the administration in this unfortunate condition was impossible without creating the suspicion of sustaining those seeking a destruction of the Union; hence, on the fifteenth of April, 1861, the President issued his proclamation, calling for troops upon all States which had not seceded—it being determined to regard each State as a supporter of the government until declared by its own act an opponent.

The sound of the President's call echoed from every hill; it penetrated every home, rousing the ambition, the pride and patriotism of the North and stirring to as determined counter resistance the South, who looked upon the President as having inaugurated civil war, and, intending to subjugate the Southern States, to invade and destroy homes in the interests of the abolitionists.

The Northern States were prompt to respond. Troops were on their way to Washington when apprehensions were aroused of opposition to their passage through Baltimore, and fears entertained of interruption of railroad communication by the destruction of bridges on the roads to Philadelphia and Harrisburg from Baltimore.

The above facts were well known in Washington, when late in the afternoon of April 17, General Scott directed me as the authorized representative of the government, to proceed at once to Harrisburg, confer with the State authorities, and hasten the mustering of the State troops into the service of the United States and forwarding them to Washington, at the same time protecting the line of railroads, so as to maintain communication with the North through Baltimore.

Stating the incentives for speedy action, General Scott said there was reason to believe that formidable preparations were being made to invade the capital, seize the government offices, and inaugurate an independent government in the interests of the South, and that a body of men in the surrounding counties was to be employed to destroy railroad communication with the North and thus delay the protection of the city designed by the proclamation calling for troops. I was specially enjoined to stay over that night in Baltimore and confer with certain influential citizens who, though Union men, were opposed to the passage of State troops through Baltimore, but who, he believed, would use their influence with the city authorities and citizens to prevent obstructions and probable bloodshed, and to secure the capital from invasion. I was privileged to use his name and that of the Secretary of War, if authority was necessary, but I would be held responsible for my acts.

I reached Harrisburg the morning of the eighteenth, having conferred with certain citizens in Baltimore, and having been assured that, if regular troops accompanied the State troops, every effort would be made to maintain order and to secure peaceable passage through the city. I at once repaired to the Executive Chamber and there met Governor Curtin, who had just returned from Washington, and who understood fully the conditions threatening the capital and surrounding him. The situation was critical and involved his vast responsibilities. He was equal to the emergencies, and, on all occasions, was prompt to action under his convictions of right, conveying by it to his State and to the country the justice of his acts, and, also, his prompt and unswerving energy and determination, so far as in his power, to use every facility to secure the capital of the country and maintain the integrity of the Union.

Several companies had been early organized and promptly reported at Harrisburg, in response to the President's proclamations, but, owing to Governor Curtin's absence in Washington, conferring with the President, and the opposition of one of his staff to troops being sent on duty outside the State, they were held until the eighteenth, when, on his return, in my presence, the Governor authorized them to be turned over to the United States, to be mustered into service. That day, as United States troops, they were dispatched to Washington, by rail, in company with a detachment of regular artillery soldiers. They reached Washington that day (eighteenth), after a most trying but controlled ordeal with a desperate mob while passing through Baltimore. They were the first of all State troops tendered to the government, and the first to

reach Washington in answer to the call for a defence of the government.

From the commencement of these troubles and vast responsibilities, Governor Curtin, in addition to his official staff, had called to his counsel and support, within their respective spheres, Colonel Alexander McClure, a firm friend, a wise and discreet citizen of Pennsylvania, well acquainted with the emergencies of the period and the laws applicable to the necessities of the occasion, and well known and highly appreciated by the citizens of the State and the authorities at Washington; also Thomas A. Scott and J. Donald Cameron, able managers, respectively, of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad and Northern Central Railway, connecting Harrisburg with Baltimore, and William B. Wilson, an able and discreet telegraph operator. To these was added the able and experienced soldier, General Robert Patterson, of Philadelphia, whom he had appointed major general of militia, and authorized to organize into brigades the volunteers mustered into the service of the State. Thus was manifested the clear and prompt foresight of this able Governor and his knowledge of the responsibilities soon to fall upon his shoulders and engage his active, bright and well-governed mind.

Governor Curtin untiringly devoted night and day to the many duties devolving upon him to organize, arm, equip, muster into service and render comfortable the troops as they arrived at Harrisburg. The annoyances and dangers attending the passage (April 18), through Baltimore, of his first partly armed detachment; the attack upon the Massachusetts troops on the nineteenth; the destruction of railroad bridges near Baltimore, enforced the necessity of fully arming and equipping the

troops for defence while *en route* for Washington, and the necessity for rebuilding and guarding the bridges on the Northern Central Railway. The State had few, if any, arms and equipments, and the government had to be relied upon for the supply. Communication with the government was broken and the State was helpless ; but by use of the name and authority of the Secretary of War, all needed supplies and transportation were quickly provided from the Ordnance and Quartermasters' depots in New York, Philadelphia, Frankford and Pittsburg. So thoughtful was Governor Curtin, and so energetic his management, that, on April 21, near 3000 troops, composed of intelligent, brave and unselfish patriots—not excelled in the State—had been mustered into the service of the government, and, under command of General G. C. Wynkoop, were at Cockeysville, Maryland, on the Northern Central Railway, only waiting the arrival that night of the trains loaded with lumber to rebuild the bridges, and of an escort of regular troops, under command of Major George H. Thomas, of the army, to push on through Baltimore and peaceably re-establish communication with the capital. All were *en route* that evening and had reached York, Pennsylvania, when, unfortunately, as deemed at the time, and greatly to the disappointment of Governor Curtin and the railroad authorities as well as of the troops and of the government agent, progress was arrested by order of the President, who, "to avoid collision and bloodshed" "directed the troops to return to Harrisburg and take the route to Washington via Philadelphia, to Susquehanna, and thence to embark in steamers to Annapolis, and to proceed down the Delaware and through the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, in sufficient tugs or other

craft, to Annapolis, as Major General Patterson shall direct."

This order, as I have said, was a great disappointment to the sensitive and sympathetic heart of Governor Curtin, who saw in it delay in the good cause of re-establishing speedy and permanent communication between Washington and the North and West; great inconvenience and expense to the government, the State, and to the railroads running to Baltimore; and also trials and sufferings to the troops. The execution of this order was still further a surprise to Governor Curtin when he saw the following order was endorsed on the original issued by the President, to the knowledge of the Secretary of War, and through the general-in-chief. Instead of a cessation of troubles, he feared their prolongation, if not wider spreading, threatening the safety of the government.

The endorsement was as follows, in the handwriting of the Secretary of War:

Since writing the within order, it has been changed by the Lieutenant General, by the direction of the President. I now add that I direct the railroad to be kept open at all hazards, so as to give to the United States the power to send troops or munition, if the necessity for bringing them by that route shall occur by the failure or inability of the Mayor of Baltimore to keep his faith with the President.

SIMON CAMERON, Secretary of War.

During these operations, reports were received by Governor Curtin, stating that men sympathizing with the secessionists, were arranging to destroy the bridges across the Susquehanna, at Harrisburg, and thereby prevent the troops being sent by the Northern Central Railway to Baltimore, and also cripple the Pennsylvania Railroad. This seemed to confirm reports in Washington,

and the Governor at once took the necessary steps to secure the bridges and thwart the conspirators.

Governor Curtin had frequent conferences with the members of his staff, all aiding with unselfish patriotism and ardor his efforts to support the government by advice and every means of the State to suppress insurrection and restore peace to the Union, at the same time running affairs smoothly and not surpassing authority in or outside the State.

Governor Curtin's earnest and unselfish interest and patriotic action in the Union cause is again evidenced in his support of the following incident involving action in another State, but in which he did not desire to appear as going beyond his powers. While sitting with him in his office in the State House, he handed me the following dispatch—just received—and which it was impossible to send to Washington and secure a reply within near three days. Prompt action was essential, and I at once wrote and gave him the annexed dispatches, which he approved and promptly forwarded. The dispatch received was as follows :

ST. LOUIS, MO., April 21, 1861.

Governor Curtin, Harrisburg, Pa. :

An officer of the army here has received an order to muster in Missouri regiments. General Harney refuses to let them remain in the arsenal grounds or permit them to be armed. I wish these facts to be communicated to the Secretary of War, by special messenger, and instructions sent immediately to Harney to receive the troops at the arsenal and to arm them. Our friends distrust Harney very much. He should be superseded immediately by putting another commander in the district. The object of the secessionists is to seize the arsenal with its seventy thousand stand of arms, and he refuses the means of defending it. We have plenty of men, but no arms.

FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

The following are the replies, which, some years afterwards, General Blair declared, "saved Missouri to the Union:"

HARRISBURG, PA., April 21, 1861.

General Harney, Commanding Department, St. Louis, Mo.:

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, Second Infantry, is detailed to muster in the troops at St. Louis, and to use them for the protection of public property. You will see that they are properly armed and equipped.

By order of Lieutenant General Scott.

F. J. PORTER, A. A. G.

HARRISBURG, PA., April 21, 1861.

Hon. Frank P. Blair, Jr., St. Louis, Mo.:

Captain Nathaniel Lyon, Second Infantry, has been detailed to muster in the troops at St. Louis, and to use them for the protection of public property.

By order of the Secretary of War.

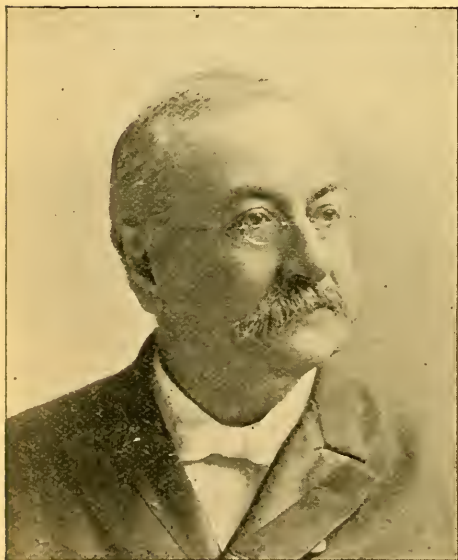
F. J. PORTER, A. A. G.

These are but a few of the many acts which justly gave to Governor Curtin the recognition before the country as "The War Governor." They were the opening acts in the service of the State. Other and many acts showed his quick foresight and ever readiness to meet and grapple with emergencies. A marked one at this time was when, in anticipation of the government's early and pressing need of troops, he had organized the eventually renowned "Pennsylvania Reserves," which, though the government persistently refused, as not needed, to accept and enroll into service, he held to meet anticipated trouble. The crisis, as expected, soon and suddenly came, and his Reserves, earnestly called for by the government, soon established an enviable reputation for gallant services which was maintained throughout the war.

The credit due Governor Curtin for his excellent administration of his State during his two terms of great care, anxiety and responsibility; and his services as a citizen, as well as those which caused him to be enrolled as the "War Governor" and the "Soldier's Friend," will ever cause him to be borne in memory as a model governor and citizen, a firm friend and an ardent patriot.

CURTIN'S FIRST MILITARY TELEGRAPH.

BY WILLIAM BENDER WILSON.



WILLIAM BENDER WILSON.

My relations with Governor Curtin were of a confidential nature, and covered most of the period during which he was the Chief Executive of Pennsylvania. I had been in the Southern States keeping watch on the movements of the leaders of Southern thought and action, reporting their trend to

Thomas A. Scott, and had only just returned to Harrisburg as the firing upon Sumter awakened the world to the fact that the greatest conflict of modern times, in its proportions, heroisms and results, had been opened. Mr. Scott took me to the Capitol and introduced me to the Governor, whom I met for the first time. From then until the close of the war, at intervals, or rather during special emergencies, I served him as military and cipher operator, and as telegraphic scout. On the seventeenth

of April, 1861, with a relay magnet and key placed on a window-sill in the Executive Chamber by his order, I opened the first military telegraph office on this continent. From this vantage ground a great part of the Governor's actions passed under my notice.

There was no spot in the United States where so much valuable and important work for the Union was being performed as in the Executive Chamber at Harrisburg.

Surrounded by such active and aggressive men as Thomas A. Scott, Alexander K. McClure, John A. Wright, Eli Slifer, Alexander L. Russell, and Generals Hale and Irwin, as aides, Curtin was an ideal leader. To that coterie must be added Major Fitz John Porter, able, distinguished, patriotic and brave, whose arrival on the eighteenth of April gave a confidence that had been lacking by reason of the want of military knowledge. Events rapidly culminated into a state of war, and Curtin found himself in reality a commander-in-chief, with an active enemy to encounter. He not only became one, but he never hesitated in assuming the duties and responsibilities of the position.

After the events in Baltimore on April 19 had closed wire communications with the national capital, the patriotic people of the North with one impulse turned to Curtin for aid, information and advice. From the people came the demand to be enrolled, and their demands were gratified. From Philadelphia came alarms as to the safety of the Delaware River forts, and those alarms were quieted by Major Porter ordering General Patterson, on April 20, to reinforce Captain Gibson with volunteers.

From among the many calls from out of the State was one from St. Louis, the Philadelphia of the West,

and the key to the Mississippi Valley, and it was promptly attended to. Missouri was in a state of ferment. St. Louis was apparently in the hands of the secessionists. In the St. Louis Arsenal there were 70,000 stands of arms that the secessionists were preparing to seize. Missouri Union volunteers were coming to the front, and Lieutenant J. M. Schofield, 3d Artillery, then in St. Louis, had been detailed to muster them in. General Harney, commanding the district, standing upon what he considered neutral ground, refused to allow the Missouri Unionists to remain in the arsenal grounds or to be armed. It was a critical moment, and Frank P. Blair, Jr., using the telegraph office at East St. Louis, sent the following telegram, which I received at Harrisburg early in the morning of the day it was dated :

ST. LOUIS, April 21, 1861.

To Governor A. G. Curtin :

An officer of the army here has received an order to muster in Missouri regiments. General Harney refuses to let them remain in the arsenal grounds or permit them to be armed. I wish these facts to be communicated to the Secretary of War, by special messenger, and instructions sent immediately to Harney to receive the troops at the arsenal and arm them. Our friends distrust Harney very much. He should be superseded immediately by putting another commander in the district. The object of the secessionists is to seize the arsenal here with its seventy thousand stands of arms, and he refuses the means of defending it. We have plenty of men, but no arms.

(Signed)

FRANK P. BLAIR, JR.

Governor Curtin, appreciating the gravity of the situation, which was increased by the certainty that it would require two or three days' time to perfect full communication with the Secretary of War, and believing that the delay of an hour might place St. Louis in the hands of the insurgents, turned to Porter and delivered Blair's appeal to him. Major Porter, without a moment's

hesitation, used the name of Lieutenant General Winfield Scott and telegraphed Captain N. Lyon, 2d Infantry, then at St. Louis, to muster in the Union troops and to use them for the protection of public property. He also notified Harney of the detail and instructed him to see that the troops so mustered should be properly armed and equipped. Telegrams of the same import were sent to Captain Seth Williams, assistant adjutant general, and to the commanding officer of the arsenal at St. Louis, and in the name of the Secretary of War (Simon Cameron) to Mr. Blair. It is a well-established fact that Captain Lyon's prompt obedience to the order saved St. Louis to the Union.

There was one call upon the Governor which he did not favorably act upon, but the action he did take gave testimony to his splendid manhood. It was customary in those days for the Governor to remain at his office until long after midnight, returning to it at break of day. I took such sleep as I obtained by laying my head upon the window sill. Early one morning I was awakened by his calling me to partake of a sandwich he had brought me. Whilst discussing it there came into the Executive Chamber an agent accredited from Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, to Governor Curtin, who announced his mission to be the obtaining of permission from the latter allowing a son of John Brown, of Harper's Ferry notoriety, to pass through Pennsylvania with a selected company of men, recruiting secretly on the way *en route* for Virginia, for the purpose of causing an uprising of the slaves against their masters.

As the horrors of a servile insurrection, in which innocent women and children would be the chief victims, loomed up before him, Curtin seemed paralyzed

for a moment at the cold-blooded proposition. Then, recovering himself, his frame quivering with majestic anger, his tones surcharged with indignation, he dismissed the agent, saying, "No! I will not permit John Brown's son to pass through Pennsylvania for such a purpose, but I will use the whole power of this commonwealth to prevent his doing so. Go! tell those who sent you here that so far as I am concerned this war will be conducted only by civilized methods."

My services being needed in Washington, I accompanied Colonel Scott there, but returned to Harrisburg with him in the summer of 1862. The defeat of Pope at the gates of Washington had left Pennsylvania open to invasion, and its great line of railroad liable to be cut in twenty different places, thus threatening the destruction of a necessary artery for the supplies of the army. Governor Curtin's appeal to the national authorities for protection met with the response that Pennsylvania must look out for itself. That the Governor immediately organized for defence is well known, but he not only did that—he also organized expeditions to search for the enemy, so that McClellan, who was moving cautiously, but almost blindly, up the Potomac, might be advised of its whereabouts. Captain William J. Palmer, of the Anderson cavalry, and myself were sent for and ordered to proceed southward through the Cumberland Valley until we came up with the enemy, to keep him in sight, learn all we could of his numbers and intentions and to report frequently to the Governor. I was equipped with a small pocket relay and a coil of fine helix wire, with which to open up telegraphic communication whenever it was convenient to do so. My offices as opened were improvised from fence rails, tree stumps or crevices in

decayed trees. This combination of Palmer and myself was the medium of information which enabled Governor Curtin to guide McClellan's army in the Antietam campaign.

On the ninth of September we arrived in Hagerstown, and although the alarm was great among the people, it was not until next day that we were able to locate the enemy and ascertain that Jackson's corps was moving on the National road between Middletown and Boonsboro, and in the direction of Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry. On the same day, at the instance of the Governor, I sent a scout named Snokes to Martinsburg to notify General White in command, of the situation. White, acting upon the information, evacuated his position, and joined Miles at Harper's Ferry. On the morning of the eleventh, 250 rebel cavalry of the advance guard rode into Hagerstown. Remaining long enough to learn that they were part of Colonel Brinn's command moving toward his home, near State Line, and that the main body of the enemy were at Funkstown, we separated, Palmer going by country road, and I by railroad, with the understanding that we were to meet at State Line and the railroad. When a short distance out of Hagerstown, I tapped the wires and forwarded the Governor the information we had obtained. I soon reached the rendezvous, from which I watched the actions of Colonel Brinn, and sent out scouts in every direction, who brought me in valuable information, which I forwarded to the Governor, sometimes through Colonel Thomas A. Scott, at Harrisburg, or Colonel A. K. McClure, A. A. G. Volunteers, at Chambersburg. Palmer, in the meantime, was making a personal reconnaissance of the enemy. In the early morning of the

twelfth, he rejoined and gave me the following report to be wired to headquarters :

September 12, 1862, 4 a. m.

To Major A. K. McClure, Assistant Adjutant General, Chambersburg :

I have just returned from the enemy's cavalry camp, below Hagerstown, where I have been all day. I left there at 8 p. m., and was obliged to walk through the fields to avoid the pickets. Only about two hundred and fifty rebel cavalry had reached Hagerstown by the Boonsboro road, but at 3 p. m., two regiments, say fifteen hundred infantry, two cannon and twenty-five wagons came in by the same road, and camped in town. Owing to the rebel cavalry having selected the farm at which I was lodging for their camp, and placed guards around the house, I was unable to ascertain what force entered by the other roads, if any, but my impression is that another infantry and cavalry force, etc., people there say Longstreet's corps, came in by Cavetown road. I could not ascertain the truth of this personally. The rebel sentinels told me the main body of Jackson's cavalry, with Jackson himself, turned off at Boonsboro, and went to Williamsport, probably to flank our men at Harper's Ferry. This was confirmed by the statement of another rebel cavalryman to my landlord, whom he knew and called upon on first reaching Hagerstown. A sentinel told me, and an officer informed my landlord, that their cavalry was ordered out to go to Pennsylvania, at between twelve midnight and two o'clock this morning, and that their infantry would follow this morning. On learning this, I left immediately for Greencastle, having no one that I could send with a message. In accordance with your instructions, and as my men would make poor show in a fight, with untrained horses and miserable saddles and bridles, and without spurs, I have instructed my pickets to fall back slowly and shall have to do the same with the small mounted force here, say eighty men, in case the enemy approach. The dismounted men will be sent to me on Greencastle road as fast as mounted. Lieutenant Spencer's command should do the same, and not come on to Chambersburg. If they had been here we could have held the rebel cavalry at State Line. All of Jackson's soldiers say that they do not intend to injure a single Marylander, but threaten to do all sorts of bad things when they get into Pennsylvania. This movement may be a feint, but the rebel soldiers do not so understand it, and the fact of their bringing wagons and infantry shows it is no mere raid. From the conciliatory manner toward the citizens in which the rebels behaved yesterday (they even went without grain for their horses, when plenty could have been seized), I think they

imagine they will hold Maryland. One of their objects in invading Pennsylvania is to let the North know how invasion feels, and their policy may be to treat the non-combatants roughly, but I hardly think they will, except in the matter of property. The enemy's cavalry was under the command of Colonel Brinn, who resides near State Line, and knows all the byroads, and Lieutenant Colonel Drake. It numbers thirteen hundred men, a number of recruits having been received since entering Maryland. They are armed with pistol, sabre and carbine, are well clothed and shod, and are soldierly looking men. Some Mississippi soldiers were reported by this cavalry as being on the Cavetown road, and the soldiers say more infantry would be in this morning. I tried to obtain a pass to Leitersberg from Lieutenant Colonel Drake, of the cavalry, but he advised me to wait till morning.

4.30 a. m.—A messenger from my pickets at State Line has just reported that they heard the reveille blow in the rebel camp. Mr. Wilson will put up his telegraph instrument at Marion, four miles from here, and I will communicate to you further from there. The train will go on to Chambersburg. Is there a clear track? Has Lieutenant Spencer's party reached you? I shall endeavor to leave three men in citizens' clothing in Greencastle.

WM. J. PALMER,

Captain Commanding Anderson Cavalry.

This telegram of Palmer's demonstrates that he was not only acting as a scout within the enemy's lines, but that he was also directing the movements of the advance guard of that body of citizen soldiery which Governor Curtin was assembling on the border, and of which the nucleus was forming around Major McClure, at Chambersburg.

Upon Palmer's withdrawal from Greencastle, I remained behind, flying the American flag over the town, my office rigged up on a hand-car, and with two scouts comprising the garrison; from that position I gathered information from far and near which was promptly communicated to Curtin, who was closely watching the movements of the enemy and conferring with the War Department at Washington.

From this unique office I sent the following among other telegrams:

GREENCASTLE, September 12, 1862, 9.30 a. m.

Thomas A. Scott, Harrisburg :

Greencastle evacuated. Am waiting on a hand-car to see the enemy. Have a small guard. As soon as Captain Palmer gives the order I will go up the road and open an office. The captain is trying to find out the number and disposition of the enemy. W. B. WILSON.

GREENCASTLE, September 12, 1862, 12.30 p. m.

Governor A. G. Curtiu, Harrisburg :

An enrolling officer of Washington County, Maryland, left Williamsport at 9 o'clock this morning. He saw enemy crossing yesterday at Williamsport. Says he threw some fifteen thousand over the river and seventy-five pieces of artillery. This morning he saw the wagon train returning. There were no camps established around the town. The main body of the troops that marched on Williamsport entered there at 11 a. m. yesterday under the command of Jackson in person, and immediately began to cross the river. A rumor prevailed among rebels at Williamsport that a Union cavalry force of 5000 was watching their progress. This gentleman's information is straight and reliable.

WILLIAM B. WILSON.

GREENCASTLE, September 12, 1862.

Thomas A. Scott, Harrisburg :

From some half dozen refugees from Hagerstown and vicinity I derived the information that the enemy are crossing in a body at Williamsport. A citizen picket from Clear Spring, though a man of not much information, just in, confirms previous reports. They will keep their cavalry at Hagerstown, and I am assured by a paroled Unionist that the infantry is still there. Palmer is now advancing his pickets. Two gentlemen under parole, who left Hagerstown at 8 o'clock this morning, represent everything pretty quiet. Stores all closed and every person treated well. They met enemy's pickets three or four miles out of Hagerstown. I do not apprehend an invasion of Pennsylvania, but think a cavalry dash this far more than probable, and that will be done out of pure impudence. The cavalry at Hagerstown this morning consisted of some four regiments. My informants being under parole are cautious about what information they give out and desire that their names be suppressed. We have only some thirty of a force here at present. Some of the citizens wanted to haul down the flag here this morning, but I told them I wanted it over me whilst I remained, and she still floats. W. B. WILSON.

These are only specimen telegrams, but they illustrate the nature of the work the Governor had engaged us in. After this I so disposed of myself that I was able to give

the Governor the first information relative to the fall of Harper's Ferry, the fight at Boonsboro pass of the South Mountain, and the evacuation of Hagerstown by Longstreet, whilst Palmer, skirting the flanks of the latter, kept himself so well informed that when he reached McClellan, who had passed the South Mountain, he was able to intelligently advise him as to the numbers and disposition of the enemy and guide him to what became the battlefield of Antietam.

Whilst the details of our work were left with ourselves, and independent and free action was allowed us, our plans of campaign were laid by Governor Curtin.

Not only did Curtin organize the telegraphic scouting service in the Cumberland Valley during the Antietam campaign, but he extended it over the campaigns in 1863 and 1864, and I had the honor of serving him in that capacity in the Gettysburg and Early's raid campaigns and the burning of Chambersburg. In the former campaign, from the time Lee crossed the Potomac until his advance struck the Susquehanna at Oyster Point, the enemy was never out of my sight, and every step of his advance was reported to the Governor and by him to the authorities at Washington. This service was a hard one—ofttimes in hiding with the enemy all around me, my little instrument in circuit doing its work, sleep impossible, hunger gnawing and danger of capture imminent—but it was performed with a consciousness that it was right. This narrative had of necessity to be largely personal, for without that coloring the story telling of the broad and comprehensive measures, covering every detail, taken by Curtin in his great and patriotic efforts in the preservation of the Union could not have been well told.

CURTIN'S CARE OF THE SOLDIERS.

BY M. S. QUAY.

I had the best opportunity of knowing the inception and execution of all the many methods adopted by Governor Curtin to protect the soldiers in the field, to minister to the sick in the hospitals, to insure the return of the bodies of the dead for burial with their kindred, to provide for the orphans of the heroic men who had fallen in the conflict, and to maintain the highest measure of discipline throughout the ranks of the Pennsylvania soldiers by the just promotion of all who specially deserved it when it was possible to do so. Having become connected with his administration immediately after the war began, as secretary of the Governor, having served in the field in command of a regiment, and later having filled the important position of Military State Agent at Washington, I had every opportunity of knowing how thoroughly he was devoted to every interest of the Pennsylvania soldiers, and how he was in advance of all other loyal governors in conceiving and executing measures to meet every requirement within the power of the State to add to their comfort and safety.

It is probably not generally known that in all the great measures proposed by Governor Curtin, and through his influence enacted into legislation that carried into execution, by agents of his own creation, all the varied methods of caring for the soldier, whether in camp or in hospital, Governor Curtin was ever in the advance.



M. S. QUAY.

Other States simply imitated Governor Curtin in the many laws enacted by which the care of the State was given to the soldiers in the field, in the hospital and in death, and in all these beneficent movements, by which the highest humanities possible in war were carried into effect, Governor Curtin was always leader and other governors followed.

One of the great attributes of Governor Curtin was his devotion to all the inspirations of humanity. His heart always felt every sorrow that came upon the soldier and his loved ones at home, and his pride in the heroic attitude always maintained by Pennsylvania troops at every stage of the war, quickened his eloquence on every occasion when the Pennsylvania soldier was the theme of discussion. He was the first governor of the North to provide agents, commissioned by the State, to visit not only the army in camp wherever there were Pennsylvania soldiers in the field, but also to visit every hospital. This movement was resisted with considerable earnestness at first as the exhibition of sentimentalism that illy accorded with the savagery of war, but Governor Curtin not only saw his State take a front rank in its great offices of humanity, but he saw the Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission, both of which were encouraged in every possible way by the State, help to make Pennsylvania pre-eminent over all her sister States in the offices of humanity to the sick and suffering soldiers. In no State of the Union were the humanities of war so grandly exhibited as in Pennsylvania. The business men of our State gave of their abundance with lavish liberality; the agents of the State were supplemented by the ministers of various humane organizations, all acting in concert, and made it next to

impossible for a Pennsylvania soldier in any section of the country to suffer for want of all the comforts and necessities of their condition.

As Military Secretary to Governor Curtin I had every opportunity to know how the care of the Pennsylvania soldiers was always uppermost in his mind. Thousands and thousands of letters from private soldiers were written to the Governor during every month of the war, many of them most unreasonable in their requests, others simply uttering the wail of despair, but not one was permitted to remain unanswered. Every private soldier who addressed a letter to the Governor, whether the purport of it was reasonable or unreasonable, received an answer that always breathed the spirit of patriotism and kindly care, and if the request was not complied with, the soldier was cheered and strengthened by the devotion of the Executive. Thus every Pennsylvania soldier felt that whatever misfortune might befall him, he had in Governor Curtin a friend upon whom he could rely, and it was this devotion that made the soldiers in the field in 1863, when unable to return to their homes to vote for Curtin's re-election, control the decision of that contest by the ceaseless appeals from camp and hospital to fathers, brothers and friends at home to re-elect Governor Curtin because he was the soldiers' friend. He earned that title fairly; it was no clap-trap invention. It was given to him by the spontaneous utterances of the hearts of the soldiers of Pennsylvania, and it will linger in the hearts of the children and children's children of soldiers as long as patriotism shall have worshipers in our great State.

One remarkable feature of Governor Curtin's personal magnetism and influence with the soldiers of Pennsylvania was in the fact that he could name from memory

almost, if not every commissioned officer of every regiment of the State, and from many portions he had personal acquaintance with a large number of the private soldiers. When he went to the camp he was always heartily welcomed, greeted the officers and many men by name, and his first efforts when he reached the field were to avoid the exhibition of honors to himself in order that he might inquire exhaustively into every wrong of the soldiers and have it corrected. No private soldier ever appealed to him without response. If he failed to attain what he requested he was always more than gratified at the interest exhibited by his Governor, and the assurance that whatever was possible to be done consistently with military service would be done for each individual.

There never was a time when a private soldier could not call him from the counsels of the greatest of the land. When visiting camp he would leave the social circle of officers on the instant when a private soldier called upon him, and when in the Executive Chamber at Harrisburg, cabinet officers and all connected with the administration, or visitors of the highest importance, were always made secondary when a private soldier appeared at his office door. He did not seek to have them avoid the hard duties of military life. He taught each and all that the soldier must be brave, obedient, and offer his life when necessary, and every teaching he gave inspired them to the noblest ambition and to the most heroic achievements. In like manner the fathers, mothers, wives, brothers and sisters of soldiers who were killed or wounded, or suffering from sickness, could always have the readiest access to his personal presence, and their appeals took precedence of the greatest questions of

state. If the kinsman soldier was sick or wounded, he was ministered to ; if he had fallen in the conflict, his body was brought home at the expense of the State for burial in the God's acre where the loved ones of the family slept who had gone before ; and if wrongs had been suffered in any way by those who wore the country's blue under the flag of our State, it was only necessary to make the facts known to the Governor and the wrongs were redressed.

One of Governor Curtin's methods, by which communication with the army, reaching to the need of the humblest as well as the greatest of soldiers, was the organization of the Military State Agency at Washington, a position to which I was called by the Governor after having served as his secretary and in the field ; and thus entirely familiar with all his purposes and the varied measures adopted to carry into effect the fullest measure of protection to the sons of Pennsylvania in the field. It was the business of the State agent to facilitate every proper request from a Pennsylvania soldier made to the authorities in Washington. With an army of a million of men in the field it was only reasonable to assume that the authorities must receive hundreds of communications every day from soldiers of whom they had no knowledge, and the merits of whose applications could not be properly judged. It was the duty of the State agent to receive all requests from Pennsylvania soldiers to the general government, to deliver them in person, to advise freely with the proper officials, and to have all such matters determined as the justice of the case required. By this means there was no delay when any appeal from a Pennsylvania soldier required the action of the War Department. Special

cases requiring furloughs, all the complications which often arose in regard to promotions, and all things pertaining to the welfare of the Pennsylvania troops in the field, no matter how distant from the capital, were thus promptly attended to and disposed of according to the equities of the case. This method, adopted by Governor Curtin, was generally followed by the governors of the other Northern States, and the result was the most harmonious action between the national and the State governments in all actions relating to individual soldiers. From the day that Governor Curtin delivered in person the flags of his State to the Pennsylvania regiments, at the opening of the war, until the Fourth of July, 1866, when in Independence Square he received these tattered emblems of patriotism from General Meade to be treasured in the archives of the State, our Pennsylvania Executive stood out single from all the loyal governors of the Union, not only in sentimental devotion to the cause of the soldier, but in the most complete and advanced practical methods of throwing over our soldiers in the field the highest measure of guardianship from the great State they represented.

This varied and complete system of Governor Curtin's, by which he provided for every want of the soldier that was within the range of human effort, is now well-nigh forgotten, as the generation that witnessed the war has largely passed away. There are grateful memories of the Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission, and of the general measures adopted by Governor Curtin to enforce the humanities of war, but there are no enduring monuments of the ceaseless attention he gave to the wants of the soldiers, save the comparatively few grizzled veterans who live to tell the story to their children.

His care of the orphans of the fallen soldiers has reared its own enduring monuments, and they stand out amongst the most brilliant pages of the annals of that bloody history. I well remember when he urged the Legislature to adopt the orphans of our soldiers as the wards of the commonwealth. There was much hesitation in accepting this additional severe tax upon the people who were already overburdened by the cost of war. In his first effort he was defeated, but he renewed it, threw into it all his magnetism, his eloquence and power, and finally carried it. The history of these orphan schools is unexampled in the humane achievements of any other commonwealth. Pennsylvania stands out alone amongst all the loyal States as having taken the greatest care of the orphans of the soldiers, and given them every opportunity for a hopeful battle in life. They have been fed and clothed and educated, and the recent establishment of the Scotland School will stand forever in our State as the culmination of Curtin's grandest philanthropy in caring for the children of those who gave their lives for the safety of the republic. If Governor Curtin had written no other record than the chapter that tells of the ceaseless and systematic humanity he conceived and enforced from the beginning to the close of the war, he would stand out in history as having illustrated the grandest attributes of statesmanship, and taught lessons of patriotism which must continue throughout ages to impress generation after generation with the grandeur of our free institutions.

While at Harrisburg rendering what assistance I could to Governor Curtin in organizing and forwarding troops for the defence of the Union, the organization of the Pennsylvania Reserves was begun, and the selection of a

commander for that important military organization was a matter that demanded from Curtin the gravest consideration. My recollection is that his first determination was to appoint General William B. Franklin, who had then just been appointed a colonel in the regular army, but for some reason Franklin could not accept it. He next considered the name of McClellan, who was a Pennsylvanian and had rendered conspicuous service in the Mexican War. General McClellan was then chief engineer, and I think president, of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad Company, with headquarters at Cincinnati. I had written McClellan when in Harrisburg, intimating that he might be called to the command of the Reserves. Governor Curtin finally decided in favor of McClellan and tendered him the appointment, but it was not done until McClellan had already been tendered and accepted the command of the Ohio forces with a commission as major general. When McClellan received the tender from Curtin he felt bound to decline it, as the Legislature of Ohio had within an hour passed an act making him eligible, although not a citizen of the State, to the office of major general, and he had accepted. The following letter was received by me at Harrisburg from General McClellan before he had been tendered and accepted the appointment of Governor Denison, of Ohio. The letter, as will be seen, was written hastily, with no idea that it should ever be given to the public, but it will now be read with interest by the many friends of General McClellan throughout the country :

EASTERN DIVISION, OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RAILROAD COMPANY.

PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, CINCINNATI, Ohio, April 18, 1861.

My dear old Fitz: Your welcome note has just reached me. I have already received an intimation that I have been proposed as the

commander of the Pennsylvania forces, and asked if I would accept. Replied yes. If General Scott would say a word to Governor Curtin in my behalf I think the matter would be easily arranged. Say to the general that I am ready as ever to serve under his command. I trust I need not assure him that he can count on my loyalty to him and the dear old flag he has so long upheld.

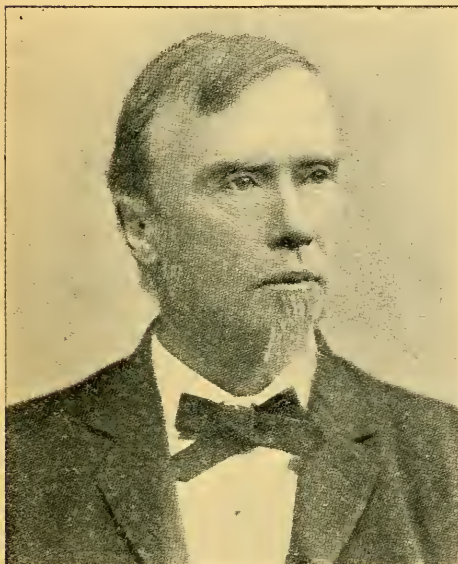
I throw to one side here all questions as to the past—political parties, etc.—the government is in danger, our flag insulted, and we must stand by it. Tho' I am told I can have a position with the Ohio troops I much prefer the Pennsylvania service. I hope to hear something definite to-day and will let you hear at once. Help me as far as you can.

Ever yours,

McC.

CURTIN AND THE PRIVATE SOLDIERS.

BY THOMAS V. COOPER.



THOMAS V. COOPER.

The North was extremely fortunate in the character of the governors of its States just prior to and during the War of the Rebellion, and none contributed more to this good fortune than Pennsylvania. The remarkable canvass of Andrew G. Curtin in 1860 did as much as any one thing to insure the election of Lin-

coln to the Presidency, and the acquaintances which Curtin formed in that most active of all our gubernatorial campaigns added much to his personal strength and that of his administration.

Pennsylvania came close to being a border State, and with the make-up of her executive forces less loyal than they were, public sentiment might have gotten adrift at the inception and in the darker hours of the war. Curtin filled the Chair of State with a popularity greater

than that of his party, with a power greater than that of his great office, and with such enthusiastic and ever-pervading loyalty to the Union, and with such marked attention to the soldiers who had gone out to save it, that he really proved to be one of the great forces of the war—probably a greater force than if he had been a commanding general in the field.

During three years of the war I was a private soldier, a member of Company C, Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania, and I had ample opportunity to gauge the sentiments of the rank and file. The New Yorkers boasted of Dix and Morton; the Bay State boys, of Andrews; the prairie lads, of Yates; but, if possible, a higher pride seemed to pervade the ranks of every Keystone regiment, in Curtin. His visits to the front were frequent, and in these the most casual observer could discover the secret of his popularity and power. In the ranks it rested less upon his eloquence, his power in communicating appropriate stories, than in his manly recognition of every form of loyalty, whether it was shown by the little or the great. The finest commander in the world could not more readily bring the light of appreciation to his eye than the simplest act of loyalty on the part of the private soldier.

His personal acquaintance was wonderful; his ability to recognize and call by name was marvelous. Great politicians and statesmen—and when great they are but two of a kind—often possess the latter trait. Great acquaintance, the opportunities presented by public life, generally trains the memory to the instant recognition of faces and names, where care is taken in early life to cultivate the faculty. Blaine had it, and it went not only to the man addressed but to his grandfather and

grandmother ; the elder Cameron had it, and it extended in many cases to a knowledge of the connections of every man thought to be of any importance in either business or political life ; Senator Quay has it, as to the person when met face to face, and he can likewise recall the post-office address and the political power of the minor districts represented by the individual before him ; the writer spent many years in cultivating it, first in writing the addresses of all subscribers to the *Delaware County American* upon the papers as they were sent out, forty years ago, and up to the invention of the self-mailer.

Beginning editorial life at the age of twenty, and at first knowing comparatively few of the citizens of Delaware County (having been raised in half a dozen counties), I was compelled to know the subscribers when they entered the office or when I went out to see them. Once knowing, I would thereafter associate the face and home with the name, and could, after careful training, readily recall all, even to the initials. This applied in the early years to two thousand names. Entering upon legislative life, opportunities increased, and when in active service as State Chairman of the Republican party for eight continuous years, these opportunities greatly enlarged, but not beyond the power of early training, and at this period I could probably call by name, upon sight, as many Pennsylvanians as could Senator Quay.

This personal detail but shows the appreciation of a faculty, which may be natural or acquired, but which when possessed as it was by Governor Curtin, to an extent far beyond any of those named, adds to personal and political power at all times, and greatly aids any cause in favor of which it is fully thrown.

When Governor Curtin visited the front it was his habit to leave to the officers of the Pennsylvania commands his later hours and pass the day in mingling with the soldiers. Enjoying his personal acquaintance at that early period of my life, I had several opportunities of witnessing the results of these visits. I have seen him at Falmouth linger with regiments and companies from all parts of the State, and call fully one-fourth of the private soldiers by name, this without coaching from any quarter. He had an earnest and encouraging word for each and all, for many an amusing story; but loyalty stamped every utterance and movement.

I saw him just after the battle of Gettysburg, when he visited the wounded. He found his way to each and every field hospital where wounded Pennsylvanians could be found. More than a third of the Twenty-sixth had been wounded, its loss in the Peach Orchard extending to nearly two-thirds killed and wounded, not a man captured or missing. Colonel Bodine, after the battle, had placed me in temporary charge as acting hospital steward during the illness of that officer. I had swept out a doctor's office, being his son, and had some qualifications for a detail which I resigned as soon as possible. Curtin came directly after the flooding of the creek along which we lay, below the rebel field hospital. The flood quickly followed the battle. Many of the rebels were drowned, some of our own were saved only with great effort. It was a depressing time, but Curtin's arrival brought a change. He walked through the ranks of the wounded, now lying high upon the bank, and again I noticed his marvelous remembrance of names and localities. He could and did call fully one-fourth by name, and when given the names of others he would

cheerfully recall some family associate or incident, and in this way manifest an interest always gratifying, but never as much so as when men feel that they are making sacrifices for their country. We had no less than ten men afflicted with lock-jaw—occasioned by wounds in the extremities—and to these he was doubly attentive. They could but look their appreciation.

In this way he traversed the entire field, those well enough cheering upon his arrival and departure—carrying out in its truest sense Shakespeare's idea of hospitality—"Welcome the coming and speed the parting guest."

Curtin had the innate power which could ever sustain patriotism in himself, and transmit and sustain it in others. His work was kept within this great groove, and it was never better filled. His resources seemed unlimited, his work tireless, and every loyal act was but an inspiration to the thousands of Pennsylvanians in the field who knew him personally, and better yet, who felt he knew them.

My service as hospital steward at Gettysburg led to the brain fever. I was taken to Annapolis without knowing how or when. When convalescing there, tired of low diet, I swam around the wall, bought a square meal, and upon my return was placed upon police duty for violating the rules. The punishment went even to the extent of trying to deprive me of a thirty days' furlough about to be extended to all Pennsylvania convalescents. These were hard lines, but they were broken by Governor Curtin, who personally saw that a furlough was carried to me by Surgeon General Hammond. I was home for a time and took the stump for Curtin, "*as who wouldn't?*"

Curtin was great in many respects, but especially great in the greatest of all. He was absolutely free from envy—the vice of some of our finest characters. He called about him great men and begrudged none of them any of the honors incident to their positions. He had Slifer, Quay, McClure, great friends in every executive and legislative avenue.

In the darkest hours of the war, when the rebels were threatening Pennsylvania, an old Adams County patriot, having personal acquaintance with Thaddeus Stevens, telegraphed him at Washington, asking how to stop them, for the Union army was in the rear. Thad, hating Curtin, wired: "Send for McClure; he will stop them at the first toll-gate."

If they had been stopped at that toll-gate, I would have lost much of this reminiscence touching one of the brightest and loveliest characters known to the history of State or nation.



GOVERNOR DANIEL H. HASTINGS.

CURTIN'S PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES.

BY DANIEL H. HASTINGS.

When I was requested to write the few pages which follow, relating to Governor Curtin's "social and home life," I was warned that other chapters would tell of his political campaigns, of his course of practice at the Bar, of the six eventful years as War Governor, of his diplomatic and other varied public services, by those who were his contemporaries and shared intimately in his public life. I first saw him in the fall of 1867. He had just returned from a trip to Cuba, whither he had gone for health and pleasure. He was standing upon a corner of the public square, in the town of Bellefonte, with a dozen or more of his neighbors about him, talking to them earnestly, and I joined the interested group and listened to his description of Cuba and its inhabitants. He looked the picture of health and manly beauty. The old men in the crowd plied him with questions and familiarly called him "Andy." I remember he closed his talk with the assertion that the people of Cuba ought to be as free as those of the United States, and he believed they sometime would be.

The personality of Governor Curtin was admirable. If it were possible to leave out of sight the lawyer, the War Governor, the diplomat, the orator, the statesman, and to consider only his personal characteristics, their charm would have been sufficient to make him famous in his generation.

In his youth his personal appearance was most marked and captivating. Several inches above six feet in height, broad shoulders, perfect symmetry of figure, smooth shaven face, black hair, perfect teeth, blue eyes, large, well-shaped head, smooth and symmetrical features, and an unusual grace and dignity of manner, he was the distinguished individual in every assemblage in which he appeared.

In him the quality of personal magnetism was largely developed, perhaps in a more marked degree than in any other public man of his time. There was a charm about his presence, a quality in his voice, a something in his bearing that seemed to attract all ages and classes to him unusually. It was frequently said that when "Andy" Curtin appeared on the streets in Bellefonte, "every child smiled upon him, and every dog wagged his tail."

Before his college days came on, Andrew spent his boyhood with the sons of the workmen at his father's forge, engaging with them in their sports and in time becoming distinguished among them as an athlete. As a wrestler and boxer, he was foremost among his companions. Many times he threw off the gloves to engage in more serious conflicts with the brawny sons of the forgermen. "Dowdy's Hole," a deep pool in the stream known as the Bald Eagle, which flows past the furnace, was a famous swimming pool, and Andrew, the most expert swimmer of them all, became a hero among his fellows by saving the life of a drowning man. In these early days it was remarked of him that he never unnecessarily wounded the feelings of his fellows. He sought to win their confidence and their applause. He could successfully gauge the sentiment of the community upon all public questions. He was quick to perceive

and to take his place on the strong side, and in almost every relation of his boyhood was looked upon as a "winner."

When he appeared before his first jury in the Centre County Court, after his graduation in the Law Department of Dickinson College and admission to the Bar in 1837, those present looked upon a young man of commanding and attractive appearance, possessed of an excellent literary education, with a well-grounded knowledge of elementary law, an unusually handsome physical figure, a powerful, musical voice, a ready command of language, an endless fund of humor and comraderie of manner, captivating with all classes of people. He had the quality of stating facts and principles in simple and clear language. In those days lawsuits were generally won or lost by the character of the speeches to the jury after the evidence was closed. The niceties of pleading, the subtle law points, the finely drawn constructions and the strict application of rules of evidence, weighed not so much with judge or lawyer as the power of oratory, and this was likewise true of the twelve men in the box. When it was announced that the judge was coming to hold the court, great preparations were made for his reception, and the grand jury, headed by the high sheriff and other distinguished citizens, appeared upon the borders of the town to escort his honor in state to the house of justice. The people of the county arranged their work or business weeks in advance, so that they might be present to witness the daily administration of justice during the sitting of the court. Lawyers of note from neighboring counties generally accompanied the judge upon his circuit, and where home skill was mistrusted either by lawyer or client, the foreign

talent was called in to make the closing speech and capture the jury.

Curtin's facility as a speaker, his love of oratory and his keen relish for forensic combat soon brought him into prominence, and it was not long before he became the peer of any in the district, and by far the most popular and successful orator of them all. The legal principles as applied to his cases, he grasped with intuition, and he was never known to waste much time upon law briefs, or fine legal distinctions. He bent his mind to the adjustment and presentation of the salient facts of the case, and no one in his day ever rivaled him in power of invective or ridicule, nor in ability to bring himself into close sympathy with the jury. He could generally find something in the case by which to hold the opposing suitor up to scorn or ridicule, and at the same time hit upon some quality in his own client or in the evidence to invoke sympathy or pity. Indeed, his fame so grew, that he was upon one side or the other of every important trial, and when the time came for "Andy" Curtin to speak, people left their homes and their business and rushed to the court house to hear the rising young orator pitted generally against some of the foreign talent. With dignity of manner, voice full of solemnity, and with great deference and show of respect, he argued broadly the legal questions to the judge, but with the jury he played upon their emotions. At one time in pathetic appeal he was weeping with the jury and the audience with both. At another, he was invoking applause even from the jury, and thunders of applause from the audience. His magnetic qualities reached beyond the jury, even to the audience, and in turn the manifestations of approval or disapproval had

their due weight upon both jury and bench. The public sentiment with reference to the issue trying and the satisfying of the same were principally the ambition not only of the jury, but generally of the judge, and when Curtin captured his audience, and thereby made manifest the sympathy of the populace, its reflex was all-powerful upon the judge and the jury: A father denied the parentage of a child, and witnesses were called in large numbers to establish a seemingly impregnable alibi. To clinch the proof, a daguerreotype was offered in evidence to show that he was in another place at the time of the alleged offence. "Daguerreotypes!" said Curtin, "establish this alibi with a daguerreotype!" and seizing the babe in his arms he carried it before the jury and in a voice of thunder said: "Gentlemen of the jury, here is God's daguerreotype that no one can mistake!" The effect was electrical. The sheriff was called upon to quiet the audience, which he did with much difficulty, and the jury rendered a verdict for the plaintiff without leaving the box.

Between the terms of court Curtin was not that assiduous, hard-working, painstaking lawyer which now marks the successful practitioner. It is true that corporation law was a thing then almost unknown in practice. The titles and locations of land warrants were mostly questions of fact. These land trials occupied largely the attention of the court and were moderately supplemented by contentions among merchants, farmers, and business men, and the usual complement of criminal cases. The facts of his case Curtin gleaned during the trial, because he was generally concerned for the defendant. His love for the companionship of old and young brought him in contact with the entire community, and he was on

friendly relations with every man, woman and child. When he appeared upon the street, or sat upon the bench in front of the village store in summer time, or behind the stove in winter, wherever he stopped he was soon surrounded by a company of admiring friends anxious to hear his latest stories and his witty sayings. He was the chief officer of the volunteer fire company of his native town, and many a conflagration was extinguished by the "bucket brigade" which he commanded. He became the captain of the "State Fencibles," the first military company of the town, and his resplendent uniform is still remarked upon with pride and admiration by the old citizens who boast the honor of having seen him in command of his company. In fact, the "Fencibles" under his command became the leading social institution of the town. Circus day, or the beginning of court, was scarcely of as much importance as the appearance upon the streets of the famous company in gaudy uniform, commanded by Captain Curtin, "the first orator of the county, and the handsomest soldier in the State." The funeral of a member of the Fencibles was an important event and attracted great crowds. A fife and drum corps followed the minister and preceded the hearse, the Fencibles with solemn tread preceded the immediate members of the family of the deceased. Thus solemnly marshaled, they proceeded to the village graveyard, where the ceremony was closed by the firing of volleys of blank cartridges over the grave. Upon one occasion the procession halted in front of the "Red Lion Tavern" (on the site of which is now the home of the writer) to adjust some difference that arose between the sergeant of the company and the bass drummer. The difficulty could only be adjusted in one way, and Captain

Curtin ordered them to follow him to the rear of the barn, where they were allowed to settle the question according to the prevailing rules of the prize ring, after which the procession re-formed, and the remaining solemnities of the military funeral were carried out in due form.

It must not be understood that his love for the good will and the applause of the people among whom he lived, or his unusual appreciation of the humorous side of life, or the quality of hero worship shown him by his companions, had the effect that is usually the result of such attentions. He was possessed with a burning desire to qualify himself for an enlarged field of usefulness. His ambition for distinction as an orator, lawyer, and public man, impelled studious and painstaking efforts to store his mind with that fund of information which afterward so well qualified him for the great career upon which he was soon to enter. His public addresses gave evidence of hard study, a retentive memory, and that wonderful assimilation of history, philosophy and logic, which enabled him later to burst meteor-like upon the people of the State. The knowledge which history and biography give us of painstaking preparation for their public utterances by Webster, Clay and Lincoln, does not disclose a more determined and resolute effort than that put forth by young Curtin. His fame began to spread, and the demands for him to argue important cases in the neighboring counties soon made him a leading member of that band of jurists who followed the judge from court to court in Central Pennsylvania.

He was the life of the company, the hail fellow, the dangerous antagonist, the loving companion, the loyal friend, and the noblest Roman of them all. Their journeys were made on horseback, and their briefs and legal

authorities carried in the saddle bags. They had their regular stopping places at the country taverns, and it was considered a distinguished honor to be permitted to entertain them. These journeys were periods of relaxation for both judge and lawyer, and many are the stories that have come down to the present time of Curtin's mirth, good fellowship and wit. On one occasion, in going to the Clearfield court, they were compelled to halt at the "Rattlesnake Tavern," upon the summit of the Allegheny mountains, for dinner. The judge complained of the lack of cleanliness in the culinary department. They agreed among themselves to call for certain articles of food which would be least objectionable upon that score. When they sat down to the table the judge called for eggs with the shells on, the dean of the party called for potatoes with their "jackets" on, and Curtin called for "a chicken with the feathers on." The latter demand caused a collapse upon the part of the cook, and they took what was placed before them and asked no questions.

He appeared first as a political orator in the Harrison campaign of 1840; four years later he canvassed the State for Henry Clay for President, and in 1854 he was urged to become a candidate for the nomination for governor, but declined and became the warm supporter of James Pollock, who, after the election, made him secretary of the commonwealth and superintendent of public schools. It was in this domain that he found the field for which he was so admirably fitted, both by nature and education. None excelled him on the stump. The quickness with which he saw and discriminated, the extent to which he comprehended the bearings of a situation, his ready forethought, and his intuitive knowledge

enabled him to combine in an unusual degree the extremes of caution and boldness. His perception of the ludicrous grew keener with years, and a good story lost none of its zest from his mode of telling it. His professional excellence, his skill and training as a public speaker, his ready wit and his inimitable manner, his splendid appearance, his captivating voice, made him the ideal orator. His society was universally coveted, he was the most genial and companionable of men, and his courtesy and kindness to those with whom he associated were characteristics that were early developed, and continued until the end. He was the general favorite, and the general friend.

Curtin will be best and longest remembered by those among whom he lived out his life, for his kindly disposition, his liberality, his sympathy, as well as for those qualities of humanity so universally admired. It would be hard to find a church of any denomination in Centre county to the cost of whose building he did not at some time contribute, and many congregations in town and country depended upon him for annual contributions for support. He was not a wealthy man, but he was well-to-do. The large property left by his father to a family of seven was long kept intact, and in the days of charcoal furnaces the profits were good. He was one of the original promoters of the Bald Eagle Valley Railroad, the first to connect Bellefonte with the main lines, and the stock which he retained in this road became quite valuable and gave him a permanent and liberal income. He lived in the best house in town, and in modest, home-like style dispensed a hospitality that was shared in by rich and poor, neighbors as well as strangers in the town. It would be impossible to describe the charm and

combination of modesty and elegance which pervaded the Curtin household. The broad parlors, sitting-rooms and library always presented an interesting picture of culture and hospitality. No man could have been more fortunately blessed than was Curtin in his home-life, and those of his family who survive him will always share, in the estimation of the world, in the successes and triumphs of the head of the household. Nobody ever went away from that house hungry or destitute. Indeed, it was surprising how the tramps always first found their way to the Curtin mansion. The Governor himself once explained this unusual fact by stating that "spring and fall the tramps placed some cabalistic sign upon the house that pointed it out to their fellows as a place where a 'square' meal could always be obtained, and besides that" said the Governor, "they always tell me that they are old soldiers and belonged to a Pennsylvania regiment."

The writer was crossing the street near his home one bitter cold winter evening, many years ago, in company with the Governor, when the latter was halted by a feeble old man, wearing nothing but the round-about clothes usually worn by wood choppers. He had been an old employe at the Curtin Iron Works.

"Is that you, Andy?" said the old man, while his teeth chattered with cold.

"Yes," said the Governor; "Is that you, Tom? What in the world are you doing out on such a cold day as this without an overcoat? How are times with you?"

"Bad," said Tom; "mighty bad, nothing to do. I have no money to spare for overcoats when meat is wanted at home."

"Here, take mine;" and suiting the action to the

word, Governor Curtin removed his overcoat, and in a moment it was comfortably wrapped around the shoulders of the old wood chopper, who walked off, showering blessings on his benefactor and everybody else in sight.

After his return as Minister to Russia, the Governor was importuned by old soldiers from all over the State and from many other States, who had served in Pennsylvania regiments during the war, to assist them in obtaining pensions. His correspondence with the veterans was enormous, and hardly a day passed that a dozen old soldiers did not call at his home in person to invoke his assistance. Every deserving caller was given an audience, and every letter was given an answer. At times he would have one or more assistants helping him with his correspondence. His intimate knowledge of the military organizations, and of the officers he sent to the field and their participation in the different battles, enabled him to distinguish with unerring certainty between the deserving soldier and the impostor. The latter were sometimes ejected from his house and given words of warning from the Governor that could be heard a square or two away. Occasionally he would go to Washington, taking with him a score or more of applications for pension, and would make personal appeals to the commissioner. On one occasion, the commissioner sent for the papers of the claimant whose case the Governor was urging, and after inspecting them, informed him that the claimant was unable to file any proof excepting his own affidavit that he had been disabled in battle, that under the rules there must be additional evidence, that nothing could be found in the hospital reports or other records of the alleged wound, and the claim must therefore be refused.

"I will fill that gap myself," said Curtin. "I sent that boy to the army; he came to me immediately after the battle of Gettysburg and I saw his wound. I kept him at my house until he said he had recovered somewhat from his injury and was able to go back, but his health had broken, and I had to send him home. Now," said Curtin, in a voice of thunder, "if that is not evidence enough to give this man his pension, I say damn the rules of the department." The pension was granted on the spot.

No social or public gathering was complete without Curtin's presence when he was at home. If it was a party, a picnic, a county fair, a firemen's meeting, or an old soldiers' reunion, he was on hand, taking an active part in the proceedings whatever they might be. If a presiding officer was required, he took the chair. If a speech was to be made, he was called upon; if a subscription was to be taken up, he headed the list. In 1875, when the news had reached Bellefonte of the great fire which swept out of existence the town of Osceola, situate on the boundary of Centre County, and left thousands of people homeless and destitute, an alarm was sounded by the ringing of bells, and the people rushed to the court house, filling it to overflowing, to take action with reference to helping the sufferers. Someone moved that the meeting should organize by the election of a president, vice-president and secretaries, whereupon Governor Curtin quickly jumped to his feet and exclaimed: "My God, neighbors, it is not presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries of this meeting the people of Osceola need. They want bread and meat and clothing and shelter. Go to your homes and bring these things to the railroad station as quick as you can

and I will furnish the cars to send them forward at once."

It is impossible to describe the effect of these words. The court house was emptied in a minute. People rushed to their homes for their contributions, and soon the car-loads of relief were on their way to the unfortunate people of the fire-swept town.

There was an inspiration about Curtin's leadership which always invoked enthusiasm and confidence. His campaign for governor in 1860 is without a parallel. He was the leader of the new, heroic party. The great struggle for national supremacy was impending. Old political lines and affiliations were being broken up. Public consideration of the great issue soon to be discussed with sword and bayonet was invited everywhere. Political meetings were held without number, Pennsylvania's battle, at the threshold of the national revolution, was the pivotal one. If Curtin won in October the effect upon the Northern States would be invaluable for the future. If he were overpowered, it foreshadowed Lincoln's defeat in November. It was the crucial struggle for the new party and the new leader. It is only repeating history to say that no candidate ever led a more brilliant campaign, or ever impressed himself more favorably upon the people of the commonwealth. His Apollo-like form, his brilliant oratory, his contagious humor, keen invective and sound logic, proclaimed him the leader wherever he appeared. He afterward boasted that in a period of three months he "made an average of two and three-quarters speeches a day, Sundays excepted." It was in this campaign that Curtin impressed himself so favorably upon the people of the State that ever after, during his long and varied life, he held an

enthusiastic following in every section. In one of the interior counties he appeared at the court house town one morning in company with two very dignified and able gentlemen who were some years his senior, who immediately repaired to their rooms in the hotel to prepare the speeches they were to deliver in the afternoon. While they were thus hard at work Curtin was going about the town with his new-made friends, becoming acquainted with the people, visiting the leading institutions and points of interest. When the time for the meeting arrived a large concourse assembled in a grove upon the borders of the town. The two elderly gentlemen made strong and dignified addresses, but Curtin, coming in at the close, swept the audience as with a whirlwind. His friends retired to their rooms after the meeting for a rest, while Curtin spent the remainder of the afternoon entertaining those about him from his ceaseless fund of anecdote and humor. Toward evening he announced to his hearers that he felt very much like making another speech, and if they would get up another crowd he would make them a great deal better speech than he did in the afternoon. The brass band was brought forth. The crowd promptly re-assembled, Curtin was called for and redeemed his promise, making a still more captivating and impressive speech than he did in the afternoon. The audience forgot to call upon his two dignified companions. From that day to the close of his career the people of the county and town referred to could always be counted on Curtin's side in any campaign to which he was a party.

On Thanksgiving day, in 1863, the oft-told incident occurred, of his meeting two children begging. His kindly inquiries, in response to their petition for help,

disclosed the fact that their father had lost his life on a Southern battlefield. The thought immediately entered his mind that the State, which sent the fathers to fight the battles, should, so far as possible, take paternal care of the soldiers' orphans. After careful consideration he sent to the Legislature, the following January, his message, containing these words :

“ I commend to the prompt attention of the Legislature the subject of the relief of the poor orphans of our soldiers who have given or shall give their lives to the country during this crisis. In my opinion their maintenance and education should be provided for by the State. Failing other natural friends of ability, they should be honorably received and fostered as the children of the commonwealth.”

Curtin's heart and sympathy were deeply enlisted in this subject. He had induced the young men of the country to take up arms for the State and the Union, and the humane conception of providing for the orphans of those lost in the conflict was soon given practical realization, and remains to-day as one of the great achievements of his career. In fact Curtin's love and sympathy for the soldier found expression in ways without number, and in a manner that touched the hearts of all. He is singled out to-day among all the war governors for that quality of heroic humanity which visited every camp, hospital and battlefield. He formed organizations and commissions to assist in the hospitals, to care for the sick and wounded and to bring home to the bereaved the dead husbands, sons and fathers who had gone from Pennsylvania to the fields of glory and came not back. To the day of his death he was known all over the land as the “ Soldiers' Friend.”

His untiring efforts in the early days of the war to send more than the full quota of regiments to the field found its fruition, but there were some people in the State, not in sympathy with the war, who criticised him severely for this work. When the issue became more clearly understood and the success of our arms more surely foreshadowed, Curtin's untiring work in aid of the survivors of the fallen, the wounded, and the sick found its responsive chord in every heart. One time, on returning from Philadelphia, an old farmer from an eastern county sat down beside him in the car at Lancaster and engaged him in conversation. The farmer, not knowing to whom he was talking, began to abuse Governor Curtin because "he had drafted" his only son. He said he was opposed to the war and did not understand much about what they were fighting for, but that he would never let that blood-thirsty man (Curtin) get his son down there and be shot at and killed by just as good men as Curtin was; that he had placed a mortgage on his farm and raised two thousand dollars, which he had then in his pocket, and with which he was going to Harrisburg to purchase a substitute; that he had never been in Harrisburg, did not know where to go, but had been told by the head officer of the Knights of the Golden Circle in his township that it would take two thousand dollars to put in a substitute. Curtin told him that the capital was full of substitute brokers and bounty jumpers, and that he should be careful or he might lose his money. "If you will go to Colonel ——," said Curtin, "you will find him to be an honest man, and you may get a substitute for your son for less money than you have brought with you."

The old man accepted his advice, and the next day

called upon the colonel. The colonel in turn brought him into the executive department, and his chagrin and mortification were great when he found that the man he had so roundly abused on the previous day was Governor Curtin himself. He obtained the substitute for one-fifth the amount he was prepared to pay. His gratitude knew no bounds, and at Curtin's second election the Democratic township he hailed from cast a unanimous vote for the War Governor.

The above incident displays more gratitude than was shown by a certain York county citizen, who came to him shortly after Rhodes' raid in Pennsylvania to explain a business transaction which he had with the Confederate general in regard to a horse. He was the owner of a fine saddle horse. General Rhodes hearing of it pressed the animal into his service, and when called upon by the indignant farmer to settle the bill attempted to satisfy the demand by a well-known species of dealing between soldiers and the citizens of an invaded country.

"What can I do for you?" said Governor Curtin, when the farmer appeared before him.

"Why, pay for my horse, and cash dis order," said the farmer.

"There must be some mistake. I have never had any dealings with you about a horse."

"No, but de repel Sheneral Rhodes vent and took my mare," said the farmer in broken English, "de best von in de barn, and when I come up to him I said, 'gife back my horse or pay for her, dat horse is wort five hunderd dollars.' He gife me five hunderd dollars repel money which I did not dake, 'cause it was good for nix. He den offer to gife me a jeck on de Southern Confederacy, which was no better, and I told him so. 'Vell,

den what do you vant?' sed de Sheneral. I say, 'Gife me pay in greenbacks.' Rhodes said he ain't got any, but he would gife me an order on Governor Curtin. I dold him Curtin was so goot as gold, and here's de order," said the farmer, producing the original document.

When the news of the disastrous battle of Fredericksburg reached Harrisburg, Curtin immediately went to Washington to make provision for the care of the Pennsylvanians who were wounded on that field. After an interview with President Lincoln, he repaired to his hotel, where he was shortly after called upon by a woman, living near his home, who, amidst her tears, told him that she had news that her son had been seriously wounded in the fight, and that she must go at once to his relief. The Governor assured her that it would be impossible and useless for her to attempt to go to Fredericksburg; that he had made every arrangement for the transportation to Washington of all the wounded; that her son would be brought with them, and that he himself would take her to see him in the hospital upon the morrow. His kindly assuring word gave the poor woman much comfort. He asked her if she had made arrangements to spend the night in Washington. She replied she had made several attempts, but could find no place to sleep, that every hotel to which she went was so crowded she feared if he did not take pity upon her, she would be compelled to spend the night in the street. He immediately wrote upon a card a note of introduction to the keeper of a boarding house with whom he was acquainted. He then escorted her to the street, hailed a cab, and paying the driver double fare, directed him to take the lady to the number indicated. As the carriage started, he turned, meeting Ben Wade and a Western

congressman, and strolled with them down the avenue, discussing the gloomy effect upon the country of the late battle. They had not gone far when they were interrupted by the cries of a woman and the harsh voice of a man. Turning, he saw the cabman to whom he had lately paid the double fare ordering the woman out of the carriage and threatening to eject her if she did not leave at once. Curtin rushed to the rescue and found that the cabman had taken the woman around the square and was compelling her to get out a short distance from the place of starting. All the fire and indignation within him was stirred, and his forcible language attracted his companions and a considerable crowd to the scene. Curtin was about to administer deserved chastisement to the rascal, who himself was a powerful man, and making great show of fight. At this moment a soldier in uniform, with a musket on his shoulder, and a bucktail in his cap, saluted Curtin in military style and quietly said: "Governor, can I be of any service to you? I belong to the Bucktails, and I come from McKean County. I saw you were having some trouble, Governor, and if you have no objection, I would like to thrash that brute."

Curtin looked admiringly at the trim young soldier and then at the powerful cabman, and, turning to the former, said:

"Do you think you can do it?"

"If you have no objection, I would like to try," said the soldier.

"Then get at him," roared the Governor.

"Would you be kind enough to hold my gun?" responded the Bucktail, and suiting the action to the word, the Governor took the gun, and the Bucktail began

his contract. It lasted about five minutes, and at the conclusion of the conflict, which was exceedingly lively, the dishonest brute lay quivering upon the pavement, unable to rise, and the young Bucktail, turning to the Governor, saluted him, and reaching for his musket, said :

“ I hope that job was done to your pleacement, sir ; is there anything more I can do for you ? ”

“ Yes,” said Curtin, “ jump on to the box, and take that poor woman to her boarding house,” which, with another military salute, the young soldier promptly proceeded to do.

After his retirement from Congress, the Governor settled down in his Bellefonte home, and spent the remainder of his life among the people who had always honored and loved him. When health permitted, he mingled daily with his neighbors, always interested in their success, and always sympathizing with their misfortunes. With his family, he attended the Presbyterian church, and during the later years of his life he found pleasure in the society of clergymen, and it was an event worth remarking upon when a minister, visiting Bellefonte, had failed to call upon the Governor.

His wonderful memory never deserted him, and one of his chief pleasures was to recount the events of his early life and the public affairs with which he had been so intimately associated. As he passed along the streets, with enfeebled steps, but still heroic physique and genial kindly face, he was still accosted as “ Andy ” by those near his own age, but among all others he retained the title of Governor. The children knew him, and he knew them, many of them by their first names, and he was a general favorite among them.

He retained his interest in public affairs to the last, and in the summer time the passers-by were wont to see him sitting upon the veranda of his house in some shady corner, listening to wife or daughter reading to him from book or newspaper.

His last appearance in public—about a year before his death—was at a reception given to a citizen of the town, who had been nominated for Governor. As usual, he was called upon for a speech. He rose with much difficulty, and his voice was feeble and trembling.

“I have made a good many speeches in my time,” said he, “but this is my last one, I fear. I am suffering from an incurable disease—old age. I used to enjoy nothing better than to make a public address, but of late it has been with me a good deal like putting your foot into cold water, it hurts a little at first, but the longer you’re in, the better it feels. . . . I bid you good night; God bless you all.”

A year or two before his death, the Governor, in making an address before an old soldiers’ camp-fire, expressed his regret that increasing years would soon deny him the pleasure of mingling with the old soldiers at their reunions. A grizzled but enthusiastic cavalryman, with tears in his eyes, arose, and interrupting him, said:

“Governor, we hope you will be with us for many years yet, but when your time comes, we’re going to give you the biggest old soldier funeral the country has ever seen.”

And so it was. It was a bleak and gloomy day. The clouds hung half-way down the sides of the mountains surrounding the town. The stillness of Sabbath was on every side. Veteran soldiers in uniform filled the streets from house to cemetery. Men and women wept as if

bereavement had come into their own households, and children stood upon the roadside, some of them with flowers in their hands. Eulogies were pronounced in the court house by distinguished lawyers and statesmen. From every section of the State men gathered to do sorrowing honor to his memory. It was a solemn and inspiring pageant. It was worthy of the career of the loved neighbor, the universal friend, the philanthropist, the statesman, the hero and the patriot.



GENERAL JAMES A. BEAVER.

CURTIN IN HIS HOME COMMUNITY.

BY JAMES A. BEAVER.

The place in society which the individual member is to occupy and the relations which he is to sustain to his fellows are largely determined before he is born. The social and business relations of his ancestors and the place occupied by them in the community have a controlling influence in making a place for and in shaping and controlling the destiny of the individual.

Of no one perhaps can this be more truly said than of Andrew Gregg Curtin. The public position, commanding influence, social distinction and large business interests of his ancestors in the community in which they lived made it almost impossible for him to occupy relations less influential and a place less distinguished than were made ready for him before his birth and which he filled with such conspicuous ability during his life.

His father, of Irish birth and ancestry, was educated in Paris, came to this country during the social convulsions which terrorized France during the latter part of the last century, and upon his arrival in this country, making the acquaintance of Hardman Philips, an Englishman having a large estate in Pennsylvania, went to Philipsburg (now in Centre County) as his agent. His active and enterprising disposition, however, would not allow him to expend his energies for the benefit of others, and before the beginning of the present century he came to Milesburg and engaged in the mercantile

business. He was soon called upon by his neighbors to represent them in the discharge of the executive duties of the county and became successively coroner in 1803 and sheriff in 1806. He was an active business man, however, and in 1810 erected the forge at Eagle Iron Works, which, in connection with the furnace and rolling mill subsequently built, constituted what has been known as "Curtin's Works" ever since. He thus became what was known in the early days of Central Pennsylvania as an "Iron Master," a class of men exerting a large influence and controlling to a very great extent the business of the community in which they lived. In their hands was concentrated to a very large extent the real estate of their several localities, large bodies of lands being necessary not only for the purpose of securing the ore required for the manufacture of iron, but also for the preparation of charcoal with which iron was in the early history of the trade almost exclusively manufactured.

The position and the influence of the father in the community in which he lived made a place for the son. The son's mother, Jane Gregg, was a granddaughter of James Potter, who came to the region now called Centre County on a journey of discovery as early as 1764. He was the discoverer of Penns Valley, which is within the Indian purchase of 1758. He applied for the first warrant for the survey of public lands in that valley in 1766. He subsequently became one of the largest landed proprietors of Centre County. He was a distinguished soldier in the Colonial and Revolutionary Wars, in the latter of which he attained the rank of brigadier general; was vice-president of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and occupied various offices of trust with conscientious fidelity and with great satisfaction to his

constituents. His daughter, Martha, was married to Hon. Andrew Gregg, who, coming to what is now Centre County in 1789, represented in the United States Congress the district of which it forms a part for sixteen consecutive years, and was subsequently, in 1807, chosen United States Senator, which position he occupied until the third of March, 1813, being during his incumbency of that office twice elected president of the Senate. In 1814 Andrew Gregg came to Bellefonte with his family, and his daughter, Jane, about that time became the second wife of Roland Curtin. Andrew Gregg Curtin was their first son, born April 23, 1815. The family then resided on the estate known as the Curtin Works, and here the subject of this sketch received his first mental and physical development. The Potter family was at this time, as it had been for years, the controlling business factor in Penns Valley. The grandfather, Andrew Gregg, was living at Bellefonte, president of the Centre Bank, and was subsequently secretary of the commonwealth, appointed by Governor Hiester. The father, Roland Curtin, was engaged in a business which taxed his energies and gave him commanding influence in the Bald Eagle Valley, where the iron works which he controlled were situated. Those who are familiar with the geography of Centre County will realize the advantages which such an ancestry and such a control of the business of the prominent localities of the county gave to the youthful Curtin. The outdoor life of his early youth tended to develop him physically, and the position of the family of the "Iron Master" gave him social distinction and control in the community in which he lived. These influences doubtless unconsciously shaped the character of young Curtin and helped to

develop the capacity for the mastery over men which he exhibited in a marked degree in his later life.

The common school system of Pennsylvania, which Curtin as secretary of the commonwealth did so much to develop, was not then in existence. The facilities for securing an education in the immediate neighborhood of his father's home were very meagre, and he was, therefore, sent quite early to what was then a well-known academy, at Milton, Pa., conducted by Rev. David Kirkpatrick, D. D., a minister of the Associate Reformed Church, popularly known as "Seceders." At this school he spent some time, acquiring a substantial education, having as schoolmates James Pollock, afterward governor of the commonwealth; Samuel F. Headley, afterward a State senator; David N. Juukin, afterward a distinguished clergyman in the Presbyterian Church; Joshua Comly, in after life one of the leaders of the bar in that region, and many others, with whom Curtin maintained his intimacy as long as they lived.

After completing his academic course he commenced the study of law with his mother's cousin, William W. Potter, Esq., a grandson of General James Potter, who was then a prominent lawyer at the Centre County bar. He finished his law studies at the law school of Hon. John Reed, at Carlisle, and came to the bar of Centre County in April, 1837.

Young Curtin immediately gave promise of a brilliant and successful career at the bar. He inherited a keen sense of the ludicrous, a retentive memory and the native wit which is peculiar to the people from whom he was descended. This combination, together with a fine vocabulary, an easy delivery and the gifts and graces of oratory, together with the solid foundations of educa-

tion which had been laid by Dr. Kirkpatrick, gave him at once a commanding influence as a popular speaker. Ability of this kind is doubtless essential to the highest success at the bar, but that of itself will not secure immediately a substantial and lucrative place in the legal profession. Curtin's large family connection and the relations which they sustained to the business community may account for the fact that immediately after he came to the bar a partnership was formed between John Blanchard, one of the prominent lawyers of Bellefonte, who had been admitted to the bar in April, 1815, and was an able advocate and successful business man, and himself. The records of the court disclose the fact that, after Curtin's admission in April, 1837, the name of Blanchard and Curtin appears as attorneys for Roland Curtin and others who were summoned as terre-tenants in the revival of a judgment against Martin Malone. The partnership continued until the death of John Blanchard, in 1849. Mr. Blanchard was elected to Congress in the fall of 1844, and was re-elected in '46. During his absence in the discharge of his official duties the details of the business devolved, of course, upon Mr. Curtin; and, after his death, he continued the practice for a short time alone. Edmund Blanchard, the eldest son of John Blanchard, having previously graduated at Dartmouth College, was admitted to the bar in November, 1849, and with him Curtin formed a partnership in the name of Curtin & Blanchard, which continued until his election as governor, in 1860. The name of Curtin & Blanchard continues upon the records of the court thereafter for a considerable time, but Governor Curtin never resumed the active duties of his profession after his election as governor.

The bar of Centre County at the time of his admission was an exceptionally able one. Thomas Burnside, one of its early members, was the president judge of the fourth judicial district, of which Centre County formed a part, and was afterward, as is well known, appointed to a place upon the Supreme Court of the State, which he filled with distinguished ability. William W. Potter and H. N. McAllister were then in partnership and in the full tide of successful practice, although Potter was at the time in Congress and the details of the business devolved upon McAllister who had been at the bar for some two years. Bond Valentine, one of several brothers largely engaged in the manufacture of iron in the Nitany Valley and a lawyer of profound learning and rare social qualities; James M. Petrikin, distinguished for his wit and wisdom; James McManus; James T. Hale, who successfully represented his district in Congress for three successive terms, and James Burnside, a son of Judge Burnside, the elder, afterward president judge of the district of which Centre County formed a part, were all at the bar and discharging the duties of their profession with distinguished ability. Space will not allow us to comment upon the distinguishing characteristics of the several gentlemen above named, but those who were acquainted with them will understand that any lawyer who expected to occupy a respectable place at the bar of the county was necessarily compelled to be learned in the law, a master of the details of practice, an expert logician and an eloquent advocate.

Even before Curtin came to the bar his services upon the hustings were in demand. His wit and eloquence and his power to move the masses of the people, in which he has had scarcely a rival in Pennsylvania, soon

gave him a State reputation, and as early as 1840 his services in political campaigns were in demand. In 1844, when his partner, John Blanchard, was a candidate for Congress, notwithstanding the fact that he had been married in May of that year to Miss Katharine Wilson, the eldest daughter of Dr. William I. Wilson, of Potter's Mills, he made a canvass of the State as an enthusiastic admirer and champion of Henry Clay, whose striking character and picturesque career appealed especially to young men. This brings him to the point when he became a factor in State politics. Another pen will more graphically portray his career in this field than is the purpose of the present writer. Curtin's career at the bar was a brilliant one, but his participation in politics and his social nature and remarkable conversational powers made him the centre of a large circle of congenial friends and enthusiastic admirers which made large demands upon his time. It can hardly be said that he was at any time a profound student of the law. His quick perceptions, his adroitness in turning the tables upon an adversary, his keen wit, his biting sarcasm and his overwhelming sense of the ludicrous, which he could in a remarkable degree communicate to others, all combined to make him a formidable opponent, particularly before a jury. When it was known in the village that Curtin was to speak the court house would be crowded. The most petty case in the quarter sessions became in his hands, particularly when he conducted the defence, one of absorbing interest to the community; and, whilst he never forgot the interests of his client and never sacrificed anything which would help to secure a verdict for him, in other words, whilst success for his client was the goal at which he aimed, and he never in

the popular sense played to the galleries, it is nevertheless true that in his conduct of cases, particularly where he had full swing, the play of his wit and the shafts of his ridicule kept the audience always alert to witness their effects in perpetual gratification and delight.

The resignation of Francis R. Shunk, occasioned by his ill health, in July, 1848, made William F. Johnson, then president of the Senate, governor *ex-officio*. He was elected at the general election of that year to succeed himself. In the canvass preceding his election Curtin took an active and conspicuous part. Johnson appointed him an aide on his military staff and this gave him the title of colonel by which he was popularly known until the time of his election as governor.

Roland Curtin, the father of Colonel Curtin, continued to manufacture iron at Curtin's Works and Martha Furnace in the upper Bald Eagle Valley, which was named after his daughter Martha, afterward married to Dr. William Irvin, until a short time before his death, when he removed to Bellefonte, where he died in November, 1850, at the advanced age of eighty-six. With the generosity and trustfulness of his race he was the friend of the entire community, and, as a result, at the time of his death his estate was greatly embarrassed. He left a large family, consisting of six sons and five daughters. Four of the sons devoted themselves to the manufacture of iron at Curtin's Works and Martha Furnace, their brother Andrew acting as their legal adviser and business associate. So tenaciously did they adhere to the task of extricating their father's estate, and so wisely and economically did they administer the business, that in the course of time the debts were all paid and the daughters provided for in accordance with the provisions

of the father's will. In the achievement of this result Andrew had his full share, adroitly using his legal knowledge and personal influence in aid of the accomplishment of an object which was by many deemed an impossibility.

It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the magnetism of Curtin's manner and the charm of his social conversation. Those who have felt them realize their power, whilst they may not be able to account for or analyze them. Certain it is that the society of few men of his time was more eagerly sought or more profoundly enjoyed than that of Governor Curtin. The writer well remembers when he came to Bellefonte, in 1856, a mere boy fresh from college, the impression which its social life made upon his mind. The town was an inland village. Its communication with the outside world was exclusively by stages to and from Lewistown, Lock Haven and Tyrone. No one came to the town without the knowledge of every person in it. Curtin was at the time secretary of the commonwealth, appointed by his old friend and schoolmate, Governor Pollock. His homecoming was an event. His office would be immediately besieged by a host of admirers; and, when such a congenial company as Bond Valentine, Colonel James Gilliland, Rev. John Toner, Hon. Samuel Linn, James C. Williams, W. W. Hays and a host of others would gather in his office, the sparkle of wit, the ludicrous traditions of the region and the fresh stock of anecdotes which Curtin would bring with him would keep the crowd in continuous session from morning till night, with a very short adjournment for dinner. Isolated as was the village it required little of external help to provide for its entertainment. The social life was as charming as it

was unique. To make it so Curtin contributed largely. His home was one of generous hospitality, dispensed with rare grace by his wife, to which additional charm was given by the occasional presence of her sisters, the daughters of Dr. William I. Wilson, of Potter's Mills, whose wife was a granddaughter of General James Potter. Bellefonte has grown in population and in its industrial development very greatly since that time, but never has the charm of its social life been equal to what it was in this period, when its unstudied hospitality and delightful home-life made its society almost like a great homogeneous family.

Curtin was warmly and heartily in sympathy with young men. After his retirement from the office of secretary of the commonwealth, he was presumed, during the administration of Governor Packer, which succeeded that of Governor Pollock, to be devoting himself to his profession and busied with the details of business. As a matter of fact, his candidacy for governor in 1860 was then very clearly foreshadowed and he was, particularly during the activities of political campaigns, much absent from home.

In the early part of 1858, several young men—the writer among them—endeavored to organize a military company which was intended to embrace the most of the young men of the town, and to give point to the social life of the community, as well as to provide military instruction and training for its members. Colonel Curtin's aid was invoked and very heartily and effectively rendered. He was elected the captain of the company and was commissioned as such by Governor Packer, on the tenth of July, 1858. The Bellefonte Fencibles became, under his leadership, not only a crack military company

but a great social agency. His acquaintanceship through the State brought to the inland village during the winter, lecturers who, because of their friendship for the captain, gave their services with comparatively little expense. An unusually fine musical organization, which became incorporated with the company, lent zest and variety to the social and literary entertainments which were provided for the benefit of the community. Curtin's striking physical proportions and the rare qualities of mind and heart, together with the social graces which distinguished him, made the captain of the Bellefonte Fencibles a very prominent figure in the life of the village. His efforts to provide entertainment for the people were probably quite as striking as his success as a military officer, but the combination was such as to win the enthusiastic admiration of all his soldiers. This military organization continued until the War of the Rebellion which followed his election as governor. It was present in full force at his inauguration, and its members were proud to tender their services to him as the commander-in-chief of the organized volunteer militia of Pennsylvania, when the call of Abraham Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers to enforce the laws in the States in rebellion caused Pennsylvania to lead in the van of that great host which successfully accomplished the results for which they were called into service.

The Centre Bank, of which Andrew Gregg was president in 1814, went into liquidation about the year 1822. From that time until 1856 there was no bank of issue or deposit in Centre County. In the latter year, recognizing the necessity for banking facilities, A. G. Curtin, H. N. McAllister, James T. Hale and Edward C. Humes organized a partnership known as Humes, McAllister,

Hale & Co., for the purpose of carrying on a general banking business. The three first named were prominent lawyers of Bellefonte and the latter one of its most successful business men. The high character, unquestioned credit and wide acquaintanceship of the gentlemen composing this banking firm, enabled them to make arrangements with three several banks by which they secured \$75,000 of their notes which they stipulated to keep in circulation, thus giving them an available capital of \$75,000 in addition to what they paid into the concern. This, with their deposits which became immediately available for discounts, enabled them to do an unusually successful business. The establishment thus founded continued until 1864, when it was merged into the First National Bank of Bellefonte.

About 1868 the most of the stockholders of the First National Bank, together with a number of other gentlemen, organized the Centre County Banking Company, which has also done a successful business and been useful to the community. Of these two institutions Governor Curtin was a prominent and, in a sense, controlling factor. His wide acquaintanceship assisted in the original arrangements made by Humes, McAllister, Hale & Co., and his character, credit and genial and affable disposition materially aided in the successful organization and business career of both of these banking institutions which remain among the most substantial and successful business enterprises of Bellefonte.

Under a charter obtained on the twenty-first of February, 1857, an effort was made to construct a railroad from Lock Haven, on the Philadelphia & Erie Railroad, to Tyrone, on the Pennsylvania Railroad. The management and control of this effort passed into the hands of

Dr. William Underwood and a number of his friends. Considerable work was done upon the grading of this road, but the financial difficulties of 1857 and the following years, involved it beyond any prospect of completion, under its then present management. The mortgage, which had been given to secure the funds needed for its completion, was foreclosed. Governor Curtin, then in the executive office, foreshadowed not only the necessity to the interests of Centre County for the completion of the road, but also grasped the value of such a link connecting the Philadelphia & Erie and Pennsylvania systems. A combination, with Colonel Thomas A. Scott and other friends, was made by him, under which the road was purchased at the sale under proceedings in foreclosure and immediately reorganized, under the name of the Bald Eagle Valley Railroad. Governor Curtin had a very large interest in the purchase and had the control of more stock than he was willing to take for himself. He offered this to his friends in Bellefonte, but few of them were as far-sighted and courageous as himself, and the offer was generally declined, much to the chagrin, in later years, of those to whom the tender had been made. The frequent incursions by bodies of the Confederate army and raids of their cavalry, penetrating almost as far north as the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, led that corporation to seek some connection between Altoona and Harrisburg which would avoid the numerous bridges across the Juniata, which were liable to be destroyed by the incursions of the Confederates. As a consequence, the Pennsylvania Railroad made a lease of the Bald Eagle Valley on terms which subsequently proved to be very remunerative to the stockholders, and as a result the stock of the

Bald Eagle Valley Railroad has become very valuable. The railroad itself has been of immense value and importance to the people of Centre County. Its completion gave them an outlet to the world, both by Lock Haven and Tyrone. It not only developed the Bald Eagle Valley, through which it passed, including Curtin's Works, but gave an impetus to the development of the industries of the county in all directions. It will thus be seen that, whilst Governor Curtin was serving the people of the commonwealth as their Chief Executive, he was also mindful of the interests of his immediate region, and planned most successfully for their development. It is entirely safe to say that no single event in the history of Centre County has done more for its material advancement and for the accommodation of its people than the completion of the Bald Eagle Valley Railroad and its lease to the Pennsylvania Company. For this the people are indebted to Governor Curtin more than to any other single person.

Next to the railroad interests of the county, no institution is more important and none is capable of conferring greater benefits upon the people of the region and of the entire commonwealth than the Pennsylvania State College. Governor Curtin was one of the original board of trustees by virtue of his office as secretary of the commonwealth. During his incumbency of the executive office, much of the legislation relating to its early organization was passed. He was always an intelligent observer of and believer in its capabilities, and, by his private generosity and personal interest, contributed to its successful founding and development. No organization which attended the impressive ceremonies connected with Governor Curtin's funeral made a finer

appearance or elicited more general comment than the student body of this institution which attended as a battalion of cadets.

The place which Governor Curtin occupied in the State of Pennsylvania was unique. The time when he was called to fill the office of Chief Executive of the Commonwealth made it so. His place among his home people and his relations with his immediate community were quite as strikingly unique. However exacting the demands of public life, he never forgot the interests of his immediate neighbors and friends, and could always be relied upon to serve them to the best of his ability. He was in every way a striking figure in the community in which he lived, and his departure left a vacancy which will not and can not be filled, and a remembrance of usefulness and kindness which will keep his memory fragrant for many years to come.

CURTIN AND THE STATE CREDIT.

BY J. C. BOMBERGER.



J. C. BOMBERGER.

Andrew G. Curtin was elected Governor of Pennsylvania in the fall of 1860, and was inaugurated on the fifteenth day of January, 1861.

Forebodings of war had already created alarm and the whole country was in a state of unrest and disturbance. Money holders, banks and trust companies were

timid and fearful. The United States Government was paying as high as ten per cent on loans, and credit everywhere was shaken. Governor Curtin's fame with the masses rests on his skill and success in concentrating masses of men in companies and regiments, but it required as much good management to obtain money as to raise an army.

Soldiers without rations or clothing, ammunition, etc., could not wage a successful campaign. Governor Curtin was fortunate in obtaining both at a very critical time; perhaps the most difficult part was to get the money in the spring of 1861.

The debt of the State at the time was about \$40,000,000, when millions were not so glibly spoken of as now. In 1840, the debt of the United States Government was \$40,000,000, and perhaps it was much because this debt was overhanging the people, that Mr. Van Buren was defeated for President, as any thing else or all else. In 1860, the debt of the State was about \$40,000,000. It is true that from 1840 to 1861 the people became accustomed to large sums, but even then many good citizens stood aghast and asked each other, "where is this to stop?"

It was under such circumstances that Curtin was placed in the executive chair of the State and soon after addressed himself to the task of raising \$3,000,000 to recruit and equip the Pennsylvania Reserves. At present the amount may be considered a mere bagatelle, but at that time, when individuals and banks were beginning to hoard gold, and when every security was severely scanned, and at least a minority were shy and uncertain as to the result of the war, it meant a great deal. The bill authorizing the loan was passed by the Legislature and the money was now to be raised.

At first he met with discouragement. I saw him in the incipiency of this task and know how anxious he was to have the loan promptly taken. He tried Harrisburg for subscriptions and then went to Philadelphia in company with Mr. Henry D. Moore, the State Treasurer. On his return, he said to one person, "You must double your subscription; it will encourage others." It came

from him almost as a command and was obeyed. He went to Philadelphia again, and at last assurances were given by the banks and bankers that the loan would be taken.

The arguments he used and the magnetism of the man enforced success. He returned to Harrisburg, happy and satisfied, and applied himself assiduously to his work. Is it too much to say that to his prophetic wisdom and assiduous labor the capitol at Washington was saved after the disastrous battle of Bull Run? If so, was it not saved by and through the effects of the \$3,000,000 loan? But for him there would not have been any Pennsylvania Reserves.

Governor Curtin financiered the affairs of the State with success, and it reflects great credit on his administration. He was scrupulously exact on the expenditures of public money and his attention to the soldiers. At the first call for soldiers by the general government, men without uniforms or arms were quickly ordered to Harrisburg. My recollection is, the first men who reached our city to offer to enlist were a body of men from Schuylkill County. It was a very cold, rainy day in April. There was no rendezvous, no subsistence of any kind. I was sent for in a hurried consultation to devise ways for shelter and provisions.

Just outside of the city limits there were about twenty or thirty acres of ground enclosed as an agricultural fair ground, with sheds, and in the middle a grandstand. At my suggestion they were sent there, and at once men were sent with wagons to the country for straw for the men to lie on, and the Governor scoured the city for provisions, etc. In a very short time the grounds were arranged, the men made as comfortable as possible, and the fair grounds converted into Camp

Curtin, and continued as a camp for recruits and instructions in military tactics to the end of the war. Many thousands were organized into companies, officered and sent to the front. If any of these men are still living, they will bear testimony to Governor Curtin's care and personal kindness and his thoughtful attention to their wants.

The last time I saw the Governor he expressed a desire to see the old camp-ground. A carriage was ready to take him, when a heavy rain prevented his going. He said it was a pity the camp-grounds were not preserved as a park; but already a great part of it has been built upon and it is too late now. I give one instance to show how precise the Governor was in public expenditures: When the rebels had gotten to Oyster's Point, within four miles of Harrisburg, the Governor had learned there was a fording on the Susquehanna about three miles below the city, used before the bridge was built; he conceived the idea that the rebels instead of crossing the bridge (the bridge would have been burned at their near approach) might attempt to cross at the fording. The town had no soldiers, but citizens formed a company of about one hundred to go down on the east side of the river to watch if any attempt was made to cross. Weidman Foster was elected captain and the writer was made quartermaster. The men were not accustomed to "hard tack, etc.," and the quartermaster furnished among other delicacies, country ham, dried beef, cheese, crackers, etc.

We were there about a week and were recalled. The officer collected the bills and presented them for settlement to the Governor. He looked at them and replied, "We cannot pay for such items as these." I answered

that "I had ordered them and held myself liable and would pay them." He said, "That is hardly fair, come and see me in a few days." The bill was settled satisfactorily to both of us. Our company received no pay, nor expected any. This shows how punctilious he was in State matters.

In his personal relations his "pity gave ere charity began." He would seldom refuse an applicant for aid, and when his bank account was low or exhausted he would indorse a note for twenty-five or fifty dollars and send a party to me with a request to discount. They were almost invariably charged to his account. I called at his office and said to him, "Governor, don't send any more of these small notes with your indorsement, I will not take them." "Why not?" he asked. "Because, in the aggregate they are more than you suppose and your account will not bear them." In a measure it stopped, but his ear was always attentive to their stories and his purse open to any tale of woe.

In reviewing Governor Curtin's administration, his skill and care in managing the finances of the State in trying times are conspicuous and reflect credit on his ability and methods. In 1861 the debt of the State was \$40,580,666.08; add war loan, \$3,000,000. Total, \$43,580,666.08. In 1862, \$40,448,213.32; 1863, \$39,496,596.78; 1864, \$39,379,603.94; 1866, \$35,622,052.16. The debt during his administration, notwithstanding the extraordinary demands on the treasury, was reduced about \$8,000,000; not a legal claim that was presented but what was paid promptly, including the semi-annual interest on the State debt. For this I think we can say, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

CURTIN AND CLEMENT B. BARCLAY.

BY CRAIG BIDDLE.



CRAIG BIDDLE.

My official relations with Governor Curtin commenced at the end of the three months' service during which I had been on the staff of Major General Patterson. On passing through Harrisburg, Governor Curtin asked me to take a place on his staff, to superintend the formation of the regiments recently

called for by the United States Government.

In performing this duty, all the camps then existing throughout the State, with the exception of Camp Curtin at Harrisburg, were abolished and all the recruits for the various regiments concentrated at that point. As each regiment was filled it was immediately sent forward. The Governor was thus thrown into intimate relations with all the soldiers and officers going to the front and

secured their personal regard and esteem, which he never lost. As each regiment left he addressed them in a touching speech which, while it brought tears to their eyes, brought courage to their hearts. He had a wonderful capacity for this. Often as he was called on he never repeated himself. It was not the repetition of a prepared speech, but each one seemed to come fresh from his heart, and was always responded to with immense enthusiasm.

The regard which the Pennsylvania soldier held for him was well deserved. No one could be more sincerely devoted to their interests than he was. He was always anxious that they should feel, that no matter where they served or who commanded them, they were still Pennsylvania soldiers, and the Governor of that State was always ready to recognize his obligations to them.

After they had all left the State and been sworn into the United States service, his anxiety about them seemed rather to increase than to diminish. He felt that he had no longer any control over them, yet was not satisfied unless in some way he was looking after them. He then suggested the propriety of appointing an agent of the State who might go where they were and see after them. After a great deal of consideration he asked Mr. Clement Biddle Barclay, of Philadelphia, to undertake it. He consented on the understanding that he was to receive no salary and to pay his own expenses. The selection was a most fortunate one. He was acquainted with most of the prominent officers in both armies; was known to be a man of the highest integrity, possessing the entire confidence of the community in which he lived. His uncle, Mr. James I. Barclay, who died at ninety-one years of age, had been a humanitarian and philanthropist

of national repute and as the leader in every good work. His nephew, it was believed, had inherited the same unselfish interest in all works of benevolence.

The ingenuity of the Law Department was put to the test to draw up for him a commission, which might fully explain his character, and at the same time not assume to invest him with more power than the Executive had a right to bestow.

Mr. Barclay met with the greatest success and was received with open arms by every one. The Governor, having no power to appropriate money for the use of our soldiers out of the State Treasury, was fearful that Mr. Barclay might not be able to carry out his views. That anxiety was soon at an end, for Mr. Barclay commanded the purse of Philadelphia. Anything he wanted was furnished with a lavish hand and pressed upon him. I have personal knowledge of two checks that were voluntarily sent him, one for \$5000 and one for \$1000, by men whose names were never mentioned in connection with the matter. All that he did and all that he gave away never cost the commonwealth one penny.

This, as far as I know, was the first attempt to appoint an agent of a State to look after the soldiers of their State. It was immediately followed by other States, and complete organizations for this State as well as for others were subsequently established in addition to the voluntary commissions who did so much for the sick and wounded.

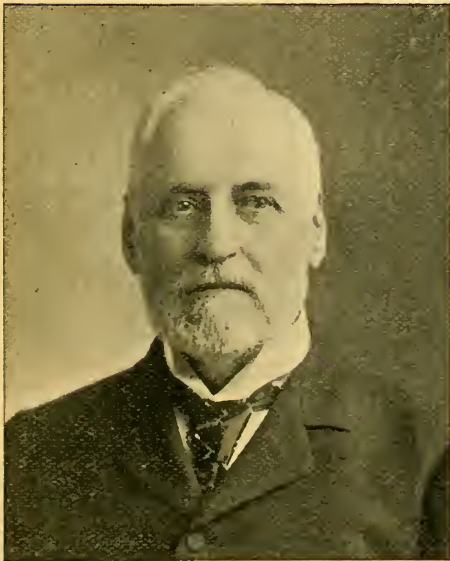
It was a warm impulse of Governor Curtin's heart, and should not be forgotten in summing up the many other noble traits of his character. Mr. Barclay still lives among us, now I think in his seventy-seventh year,

with a vivid recollection of all these matters, although all his papers, containing his commission and the correspondence of every man of note, were burned, together with the building in which they were stored.

As I left Harrisburg after all the requisitions upon the State were filled, it is not in my power to give any further details of matters occurring there which are not known to the public at large. I am glad of the opportunity to bear testimony in this slight way to Governor Curtin's unflagging interest in the welfare of our troops and to the valuable aid which Mr. Barclay gave in making it effective.

CURTIN AS MINISTER TO RUSSIA.

BY TITIAN J. COFFEY.



TITIAN J. COFFEY.

I have been asked to contribute to this volume some reminiscences of the life of Governor Curtin when he was Minister to Russia. But knowing him as I did almost from my boyhood, for many years intimately, I trust I shall be pardoned if, in a book devoted to his memory, I venture first to touch briefly on some other portions

of his life. Governor Curtin was a favorite of nature and of fortune. His parentage on both sides was of the best strain of our Pennsylvania blood. The Curtins and the Greggs were alike families of social and business distinction, who had made and left their mark on the region in which they lived, commanding the respect and wielding the influence due to high intellectual and moral

qualities and useful lives. Some of them had achieved distinction in public life early in the history of the nation, and the grandfather, after whom he was named, was, in his day, one of the most eminent and influential of the sons of Pennsylvania. They all belonged to the gentleman class, and so Governor Curtin was brought up with the advantages (by no means common in those days) of wealth, refinement and culture. It is not surprising, therefore, that early in life he acquired the manners and the tastes that made him one of the most charming and delightful men of his time. And with these advantages he inherited the love of public life and the ambition to serve his country which became his ruling passion.

There never was a period in his life when he was not the favorite of all classes. He was commonly said to possess that mysterious quality called "magnetism," by which some public men (of whom Mr. Clay and Mr. Blaine are familiar examples) won their way to the popular heart. In Governor Curtin this quality is easily explained. Gifted with singular beauty of person and ease of manner, and inspiring the unconscious respect which the world pays to men of imposing height and graceful movements, his kindly smile, genial address and ready humor, natural, unaffected and spontaneous, at once won the hearts of strangers. Longer acquaintance and more familiar intercourse only confirmed this impression.

These qualities were aids to the prompt success which attended his career at the Bar. But with them he possessed also a quick, clear and acute intellect, and a readiness of resource that very soon made him one of the leaders in his profession in Central Pennsylvania.

In the counties in which he practiced up to the time when Governor Pollock appointed him Secretary of the Commonwealth, few important cases, civil or criminal, were tried wherein he was not conspicuous as counsel. And this, notwithstanding the fact that his senior partner, the Hon. John Blanchard, was the most able, learned and successful lawyer in that part of the State. If the junior did not carry as many heavy guns as his chief, he was admirably equipped for the lighter but more brilliant excursions and charges which, in the strategy of the Bar, are quite as effective as in the movements of armies.

But his heart was in public life, and his ambition led him rather to the Forum of political discussion than to the struggles of his profession. Almost from his boyhood he was a prominent and popular political speaker. In every canvass for governor or president, his voice was heard throughout the State in advocacy of Whig principles and candidates. I well remember the first time I saw him. It was in the exciting political contest of 1844, when he came over to Huntingdon, the county adjoining his own, to advocate the cause of Henry Clay. His tall and elegant figure, his handsome face, and the easy grace with which he began his speech, at once won the favor and sympathy of his audience, and it was not long before his humor and eloquence had roused them into the enthusiasm which, as Pennsylvanians have since so well known, was always evoked by his speeches.

Thus early in life his fame as a political speaker extended through the State, and everywhere his services were called for, and everywhere too, as he responded to these calls, the fascinating young orator captivated the people. So that, when, after conducting successfully as chairman of the State Committee the

canvass which placed Governor Pollock in the executive chair, that official asked him to accept the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth and Superintendent of Public Schools, he was well known throughout the State as one of her most prominent and rising politicians.

The office of secretary furnished but small occasion for distinction in the public service. But as Superintendent of the Public Schools I well remember his active and efficient work in behalf of education. He brought to this work the same large foresight and statesmanlike comprehension that afterward, as governor during the war, he exhibited in the prompt creation of the Reserve Corps, and in establishing the Homes for Soldiers' Children. He conceived and founded the system of Normal Schools which has since become the crowning edifice of our splendid system of State education. He prepared and placed in my charge, as a State Senator, in the session of 1857, the bill which provided for the establishment of the Normal School system in Pennsylvania, and aided me with valuable and timely suggestions and information in the preparation of the report on the bill which it became my duty as chairman of the committee to prepare. It is not the least of his titles to fame that he was the father of the Pennsylvania Normal School system.

Recurring to those days at Harrisburg, I cannot refrain from a brief reference to the political condition of the State and Governor Curtin's connection with it. A successful assault upon the intrenched Democracy of Pennsylvania had been made under his lead in 1854. But it was not until after the canvass of 1856, when the young and aggressive Republican party arose to give battle to the Democracy, that it became evident that the

future lay with that organization. The somewhat discordant elements which had combined to fight the Democracy during and after the contest of 1856, gradually united under the Republican banner and prepared to capture the State in 1860. The rising wave of Republicanism had carried into the State Legislature a class of young men, who, inspired with the enthusiasm of a great cause, felt that it was their mission to aid that cause. Some of them were men of great ability and all of them were animated by a pure and patriotic purpose. They determined to organize the party on a basis that would wrest the State from Democratic control and range it on the side of what to them was the cause of freedom and patriotism. They chose for their leader the young and brilliant Secretary of the Commonwealth, and for four years they worked with faithful and unsparing effort, in their several localities, to build up the Republican party, and to carry it into power in 1860, with Andrew G. Curtin as Governor of the Commonwealth. How they succeeded, history tells. But the history is yet to be written of their earnest, untiring and skillful work, of obstacles they met and overcame, of temptations they resisted from influences of the baser sort, of faithful and romantic devotion to their beloved chief, and of the joy and gladness that crowned their work when they saw their chosen leader not only made Governor of the State, but the instrument through whom their party won a national victory and placed Abraham Lincoln in the Presidential chair. Only a few of that admirable and devoted band are yet living, but they can bear witness with what pride, what warmth, and what tenderness, our dear old leader would speak of their devotedness and fidelity. He and they loved each other

with a sincerity that no changes or chances in after life ever affected, and this furnishes a fair sample of the "hooks of steel" by which Governor Curtin's friends were bound to him.

The duty is assigned to more competent hands of relating how he did the stupendous and noble work that fell to him as governor, with what energy and ability he led Pennsylvania in the great struggle for the integrity of the Union and held up the hands of Abraham Lincoln. But I may be allowed to refer to a single incident of his life during that time at Washington. It happened that in March, 1861, I went to Washington to occupy a position that brought me into frequent intercourse with Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet. Governor Curtin's duties called him very often to the capital, and his business, when not visiting the camps and hospitals of the soldiers, was generally with the President and War Department. More than once I accompanied him to the White House and I was impressed with the cordial and friendly relations that existed between the Governor and the President. It was easy to see that Mr. Lincoln not only admired and confided in him, but that he respected his character, sought his advice, and appreciated his help. And this in spite of some sinister influences near him that were not friendly to Governor Curtin. I remember the day in 1861 when the Governor, with his staff, came out to Tennallytown, where the Reserve Regiments were then encamped, to deliver to them the colors which they afterward carried so gloriously on many a bloody field. It was a bright and lovely day and the scene was inspiring. Mr. Lincoln, most of his Cabinet, and many eminent persons were there, with a great throng of spectators. That was Pennsylvania's day. And her repre-

sentative and spokesman was her Governor. I recall now the thrill of pride with which we Pennsylvanians saw the stately and gracious way in which he entertained his distinguished guests, and heard the eloquent and becoming words in which he did them honor. I could see how the fascination that never failed, was no less effective with President and statesmen. My old chief, Attorney-General Bates, who was present, often used to refer to "the handsome and eloquent Governor who charmed them all by his knightly courtesy and grace."

When Governor Curtin was appointed by President Grant Minister to Russia, he persuaded me to accompany him as Secretary of Legation. In fact, he had my name sent to the Senate without my knowledge, and, on his return from Washington to Philadelphia, where we both then lived, when I asked him why he had done so, he replied that he knew I was arranging for a visit to Europe for a prolonged stay, and it seemed a suitable thing that we should go together. "But," said I, "my visiting Europe does not mean that I am to stay at St. Petersburg." "Oh," he replied with a laugh, "you don't suppose I am going up there without having the society of at least one of my old friends." I mention this as an illustration of the kind of relation he bore to his intimate friends; and it is, perhaps, an illustration, too, of the kind of attachment his friends had for him, that, to gratify him, I changed for the time my plans of travel and yielded to his wish.

We sailed from New York in June, 1869, the Governor before our departure having been publicly and privately *fêted* and banqueted in Philadelphia and elsewhere. He was accompanied to New York by a large and enthusiastic number of his friends, who chartered a steamer to

escort him down the bay, and we had left Sandy Hook far behind before they could be persuaded to cut loose from the "Donan" and say good-bye to their idol. I have never, before or since, witnessed a farewell so warm and affectionate as that was. After a pleasant passage we landed at Southampton, proceeded to London and thence to Paris. In these cities the Governor was the recipient of many civilities. In truth, they became so numerous and so exacting on his digestive powers that he was forced to run away from them and seek rest and recuperation at Homburg, the paradise of German watering places. It happened that at this time (July) the Russian Chancellor, Prince Gortchakoff, was staying at Wiesbaden, not far from Homburg, and Governor Curtin decided to visit him. The Prince received him with great cordiality, and in answer to the Governor's inquiry as to when his Majesty, the Emperor, would be pleased to receive him, replied that the Emperor was then taking his summer rest in Livadia, and would not be in St. Petersburg before late in October. "Nor shall I return before that time," added the Prince. We found that no official functions could be performed during the summer. The Prince advised the Governor to delay his arrival at St. Petersburg until the autumn, since, until that time, he could not formally assume the duties of his office. The matter was of less moment, as Mr. Clay, whom he succeeded, was still there. Governor Curtin telegraphed these facts to Mr. Fish, the Secretary of State, and the next day brought a telegram from Washington authorizing him to accept the Prince's advice. We remained, therefore, at Homburg during July and August.

It was to Americans at that place an interesting summer. Assembled there were Mr. John Jay, the new

Minister to Austria ; Mr. Washburne, accredited to Paris ; Mr. Russell Jones, Minister to Belgium, besides Governor Curtin and many American Consuls and other public men, of whom Senator Chandler, of Michigan, was one. There was also a large gathering of English and Continental statesmen and people distinguished in public and social life, such as usually seek relaxation at Homburg.

The time was the beginning of General Grant's first administration, and the four years that had passed since the suppression of the great rebellion by his armies, marked as they were by the peaceful disbanding of those armies, the methods adopted for the payment of our enormous public debt, and the completion of the Pacific Railway, had profoundly impressed the imagination of Europe. The self-sacrifice and courage, the long and bitter contests, the patient waiting under the growing burden of debt and suffering, the splendid triumph of the national arms, the restored Union, and the quiet absorption of our armies into the bosom of a peaceful population, followed by a system of debt-paying before unknown, had filled the nations of the old world with a degree of astonishment and admiration that never have been appreciated at home.

All these things were then on every lip in Europe. The American, especially the American Minister, was an object of attention and consideration that none of his predecessors had ever known. Of all this homage, the new Minister to Russia received his full share. Nor was it unknown that he had participated in the struggle. The admiration and applause of his countrymen attracted the notice of the European world, and they soon came to know that the distinguished looking Minister had been the great "War Governor."

Leaving our children at school for the winter at Dresden, we proceeded to St. Petersburg in October, in advance of the arrival of the Emperor and Prince Gortchakoff.

I disclose no secret when I say that a combination of unfortunate circumstances had, at that time, somewhat discredited the American Legation at St. Petersburg. The minister, a gentleman who had justly occupied a high position at home and who had enjoyed the favor of Mr. Lincoln by whom he was appointed, had, because of political differences, lost the confidence of President Johnson, who tried to remove him from office. But the Senate stood by the minister and he would not resign. His relations, therefore, with the State Department were far from pleasant or promotive of his usefulness. Nor was he on kindly, or even workable, terms with the Secretary of Legation, whose only connection with the legation was the regular quarterly drawing of his salary, against the payment of which the minister filed his quarterly protest.

Of course all this was well known at the Russian Foreign Office and in St. Petersburg society. So that it was practically Governor Curtin's mission to renew suitable relations with the government and restore the legation to its proper position and influence. How he did this, I wish I could relate in detail.

Diplomatic success in Europe involves much more than the mere legal knowledge necessary to discuss questions of public law and to negotiate treaties. Essential as this is, some of the statesmen at Washington who appoint foreign ministers and some who cut down their salaries to a mere living point, would be surprised to learn how much good breeding, social tact, genial

manners and liberal hospitality have to do with the success of a minister who tries to be of service to his country. Diplomatic business is not yet done in the way in which lawsuits are disposed of in a county court-house, where good law is often administered without the grace of good manners. The "*effete* despotisms" of the old world expect a minister to be, among other things, a gentleman who can make himself agreeable socially and whose methods of life and hospitality will conform to their ideals. If he is a boor in manners and mean or shabby in his way of living, they will naturally think he represents a nation of boors and misers. The Russians fell into no such mistake about Governor Curtin. The new minister, whose imposing figure and graceful manners might well remind them of their own stalwart and handsome Czar, captivated them as quickly and easily as he would a crowd of eager listeners at a Lancaster County political meeting. The Russians, like all military people with a touch of the barbaric left in them, love big, well-proportioned men. The Governor would have made an ideal field marshal for them. They look up to such a man. But when they found that this big, fine-looking man was a gentleman with fine manners and address, that he was a delightful companion, ready with jest and story, bubbling over with fun and humor, as courtly to women and to men as if he had been born a prince, and yet shrewd, sharp-witted and full of good sense, they gave him their hearts.

He went there at a favorable time. I have already spoken of the impression left in Europe by our success in suppressing the rebellion. In that success Russia saw a means to help her own purposes. She had sent a

fleet over at the beginning of our trouble to bear witness of her sympathy with us, for she was against rebellions. She was the one great European power who did not express and feel sympathy for the rebels, and I shall directly give a striking proof of this fact. She always hated England, her great rival in the East, the lion that lies in her pathway to Constantinople. But at that time the memories of her defeat in the Crimea were still fresh and vivid. England in her hour of disaster had forced her to consent to a clause in the Treaty of Paris which prohibited a Russian armed fleet in the Black Sea—in *her* sea. It was to her as it would have been to England, if France were to compel her to disband and remove her channel fleet. Russia had, per force, submitted to the degradation, but she was determined, when the chance offered, to tear that hateful clause from the treaty. She had been a friend in our trouble and she wanted us to befriend her when her time came. She saw in the Alabama claims a prospect of war between us and England, and she threw every obstacle in her power in the way of their amicable settlement. For that purpose Prince Gortchakoff sent Mr. Catacazy here as minister in 1869, and out of his efforts in that behalf grew the failure and recall of that gentleman, to which I shall again refer.

Therefore it was that when Governor Curtin presented himself at St. Petersburg, carrying with him, what his predecessor had not, the confidence and authority of the great Western power who, after crushing her domestic foes, had still an unsettled account with England, he was received with open arms.

On the arrival of Prince Gortchakoff, in October, we called on him to arrange for the presentation. He was

sitting at his desk with one leg wrapped in flannels, resting on a cushion, a victim of gout. He received us like old friends, apologizing for his inability to rise. On our expressing sympathy and hope of improvement, he said, "Ah, gentlemen, my serious trouble is not this gout, but my seventy years. That disease is incurable." Before we left him Governor Curtin said, "Prince, in our country when a minister is presented to the President it is usual for the minister to make a brief address, to which the President replies. Would it accord with your customs and with the pleasure of the Emperor if I should address him briefly in this way?"

The Prince said that it was not their custom, but he would be glad to adopt it if Mr. Curtin would furnish him with a copy of his remarks in advance, so that he could give it to his "Master," as he called the Emperor.

We returned to the legation where we got up a short speech about the traditional friendship of the two nations, their likeness in power and extent, in their continental expansion, extending from ocean to ocean, and in their historical development, with a promise even richer in the future than in the great achievements of the past, and their great responsibilities as the guardians of the world's welfare, etc.

A copy of this document we sent to Prince Gortchakoff. The next day we were driven to the Winter Palace, and after a long walk through seemingly endless corridors lined on both sides with soldiers and officials, who saluted and bowed as we were escorted by the masters of ceremonies, we reached the Emperor's chambers. When the Emperor entered the room, the new minister, after presentation, made his address much in the same way as he accepted the nomination for gov-

ernor at Harrisburg in 1860. When the Emperor, who listened to it with close attention, replied in excellent English, we observed that he dealt with the topics touched on by the Minister in consecutive order, and that he held in his left hand a paper much like the one we had sent Prince Gortchakoff. The next day we called on the Prince, and when the Governor suggested that it might be well to publish the speeches, as was our custom, the Prince intimated that he would gladly do so, "but," said he, "how are we to get a copy of my master's remarks?" The Governor said he thought he could reproduce them from memory. "If you do so," said the Prince, "I will see to the publication." That afternoon we got up from memory a substantial report of the Emperor's speech, which with the Governor's address we sent to the foreign office, and next morning they appeared in French in the official *Journal of St. Petersburg*, and they were republished in all the important newspapers in Europe. I venture to think the incident quite unique in European diplomacy.

After this we had, with abundant formality and a good deal of gilded ceremony, to undergo eighteen distinct and separate presentations to the various members of the imperial family, beginning with the Empress and ending with the Grand Duke of Oldenburg. Then came official and social visiting, the business of "card dropping" in St. Petersburg being, however, much simplified by a printed list furnished you of the people upon whom you must call.

Then began a round of social festivities in which the American Legation had a full share. Governor Curtin was soon well known, and became a general favorite in the highest and best society. He was quite intimate

with the leading members of the Diplomatic Corps and with some of the high officials, and seemed a welcome guest everywhere.

He was in a state of comic embarrassment about a diplomatic costume. An absurd law of Congress forbade persons in our diplomatic service wearing any court costume or uniform unless he had served in the army, when he might wear the uniform of his last rank. Strictly, the Governor's costume was the commonplace swallow-tail. "But," said he, "how can I wear that in a room full of people blazing in gold buttons and gold lace? I'm a long man, and in a black swallow-tail I look like an undertaker or a butler." I said, "You were Commander-in-Chief of the military forces of Pennsylvania, why not wear a major-general's uniform?"—as I had seen Governor D. R. Porter do. "That's all very well," said he, "but if I did so some of these old Crimean chaps would be asking me what battles I had fought in." After a while he got up and slapping the table said, "I have it now. I'll get a blue swallow-tail coat and trousers, with gilt buttons with a big eagle on them, like the one on John Heilman's certificate of bankruptcy." The humor of this will at least be apparent to those who have ever heard him tell the story of how John Heilman paid his debts. But he got the blue coat and brass buttons, and he was not ashamed of them.

There are those who laugh at all this as a yielding to European notions. I can but wish that our fellow-citizens who turn their patriotic noses up at such weakness, had my experience of being the only human being in a black swallow-tail in an assembly of thousands in all sorts of military or court costumes.

The strictly diplomatic duties of the Minister were

not very laborious or important. He cultivated kindly relations with every proper person, and when he entertained he did so handsomely and becomingly, with liberal elegance and without vulgar ostentation. And in his social engagements he had the advantage of the assistance of his accomplished wife and daughter, ladies well fitted to adorn any court.

A former minister, at the instance of Mr. Seward, had suggested to the Czar that if he would send one of his sons to visit the United States, our people and government would show by their reception of him how we appreciated the sympathy of Russia during the War of the Rebellion. The suggestion took practical form during the ministry of Governor Curtin, and his majesty decided to send his third son, the Grand Duke Alexis. While preparations for his departure were being made in St. Petersburg, of course with Governor Curtin's knowledge, the unfortunate trouble between the Administration and Mr. Catacazy reached a crisis, and it was determined that he should be recalled or receive his passports.

I have said that Prince Gortchakoff sent Mr. Catacazy here to do what he could to aggravate our feeling against England in the matter of the Alabama claims, so that in the event of a war with England Russia might seize the occasion to modify the Treaty of Paris and regain her right to again unfold her naval flag on the Black Sea. This was well understood in St. Petersburg, and I was told by one who knew whereof he spoke, that the Prince had some trouble to overcome the scruples of the Czar against Mr. Catacazy's appointment to Washington. For the Emperor was a gentleman, and it was said that he wanted to be represented at foreign governments by men

of a class to which he feared that the proposed minister did not belong. But Prince Gortchakoff had found in Mr. Catacazy the man he wanted, for his aim was to influence the Administration through public opinion. Accustomed to the arts of intrigue which Oriental diplomacy finds useful, he fancied that the same methods could be successfully used over here. That the minister did, through newspaper and other agencies, try to influence the policy of General Grant and Mr. Fish in the Alabama business is I believe true. But all he achieved was, with other indiscretions, to offend the President and Secretary of State, who very properly determined to get rid of him.

But it so happened that the demand for his recall reached St. Petersburg just at the time when the Grand Duke was getting ready for his American visit, where he would be the guest of the Russian Minister.

The foreign office there did not dare to inform the Czar of the situation. For he would at once, in deep offence, have forbidden the visit, and unpleasant relations would have resulted. The St. Petersburg end of the incident was very unpleasant to Governor Curtin, for, whilst obeying the orders of his government, he appreciated the embarrassment of the foreign office which desired to avoid the catastrophe that would have followed if our demand for Mr. Catacazy's removal had been pressed before the visit of the Grand Duke should have been made and ended. It would be needless to detail the interviews and correspondence that ensued. It is enough to say that our government (though I fear not very graciously) yielded the point as to Mr. Catacazy's instant recall, and allowed him to remain until the Grand Duke's visit was paid. But one incident

may be mentioned. In one of Governor Curtin's conversations with Prince Gortchakoff on the subject, when the Prince was trying to impress on him the ungraciousness of our government, at that time, putting on a friend like Russia the indignity of forcing the recall of her minister, he told this story. He said that at one period of the War of the Rebellion, when our cause looked darkest, the Emperor Louis Napoleon had written an autograph letter to the Czar inviting him to unite with France and other powers in breaking our blockade of the Southern ports and formally recognizing the Confederacy. To that letter the Czar replied that Russia and the United States had always been friends; that Russia did not encourage rebellion and that he knew no good reason why he should unite in intervention against an established and friendly government, and that if any such intervention should occur, Russia would reserve to herself the right of independent action. And so Louis Napoleon's schemes came to grief.

But I must close these desultory sketches. Governor Curtin remained in St. Petersburg until the summer of 1872, when his health, tried in that severe climate, compelled him to resign rather than encounter another winter. During that summer I was at the Hotel National at Lucerne, Switzerland. Prince Gortchakoff came there on his way to Como. I had several talks with him. The first time I saw him he said: "I am sorry to learn that Mr. Curtin is going away from us. We all esteem him highly and I consider him not only a most agreeable man, but with a single exception, the ablest man in the Diplomatic Corps at St. Petersburg." I think the exception was the **Turkish**

Minister. But all except the Governor were trained diplomats and the compliment meant much.

That the Prince spoke sincerely for himself and his master is proved by the splendid portrait of the Czar which His Majesty sat for and sent, after his resignation, to the Governor. I was with him in London when he received and opened the letter of Prince Gortchakoff announcing the present made by the Emperor. The Prince's letter (translated) was as follows :

WILDBAD, July 6, 1872.

Sir: His Majesty the Emperor, desiring to give you a particular testimony of his good wishes, has wished that in leaving Russia you take with you his portrait. It has just been executed by order of his Imperial Majesty. He has charged me to transmit it to you in expressing the desire that it remain forever in your family in remembrance of the good sentiments that you have always manifested toward Russia, and of the souvenirs of esteem and affection that you leave there. In acquitting myself of this supreme order, which attests the great sympathies which follow you in your retirement, permit me to join to it the expression of those with which you have inspired me personally in the course of our mutual relations. Receive the assurance of my high consideration.

GORTCHAKOFF.

To Mr. Curtin.

Governor Curtin at once replied to the Prince, expressing in warm terms his appreciation of the high and rare compliment paid him by the Emperor, but explaining that until he was relieved of his official position he would be unable to accept the portrait.

The Emperor had sat in person to Brookman, the most distinguished portrait painter in Russia, and the result was a most striking and faithful portrait, perfect in all its details of face, figure and dress of one of the handsomest and most imposing looking men in Europe. After Governor Curtin's resignation had been accepted and his successor had been appointed the picture was

forwarded to him to Philadelphia, where it attracted much attention and admiration and where for a time it was, at the request of artists, placed for exhibition in an art gallery.

After the reception of the portrait, Governor Curtin, then a private citizen, made his acknowledgments in the following letter to Prince Gortchakoff. Nothing can better illustrate the character of his relations to the Court of Russia and the value and success of his mission.

PHILADELPHIA, January 31, 1873,

United States of America.

My dear Prince: The portrait of the Emperor arrived some weeks since, and in compliance with a very general desire, has been on public exhibition in this city. It is indeed beautiful, but its value is largely enhanced to me and my family as it presents His Majesty as he looked when we had the honor and privilege of seeing him.

As a work of art of the highest merit the portrait has attracted much public attention; but the interest is largely increased by the feeling that it is a faithful likeness of a monarch who has at all times and under all circumstances been the friend of our country, and one whose large beneficence to humanity in his own country, has attracted to him, on the part of the people of the United States, the homage of their profound respect.

I am at a loss for language to express my pride and thanks for this manifestation of the kindness of His Majesty, and am deeply grateful for the words of affection with which the portrait was accompanied.

My residence in Russia was a happy episode in my life, and my memories of the confidence and good will I enjoyed from all persons I knew there, unalloyed by the jealousies and differences that so often mar the pleasures of life, can never be forgotten. Since returning to my country I have availed myself of many opportunities to speak of the Emperor; of the mildness and virtues of his nature; of the vigor and justice of his reign; of his large and liberal views of human rights, and of the good he has done for his subjects. I pray God his life may be long spared for the good of Russia and that his humane example, and his justice and integrity which so justly endear him to his own people, may be followed by those who are called by Providence to rule other nations.

And now, dear Prince, you must permit me to express to you in words, warm from my heart, my gratitude for your continued kindness

and friendship during my residence near you, and your courtesy in our personal and official intercourse.

I will ever think and speak of you with pride as my friend and will ever be, my dear Prince,

Sincerely your Friend,

ANDREW G. CURTIN.

This correspondence bears witness that he had faithfully fulfilled his mission and maintained the good name of his country and of himself in Russia.

Of his public life and services after his return home others will speak. When he came to Washington as a member of Congress, where I saw much of him, he brought with him the same atmosphere of genial warmth and sunshine in which he had always lived. He was, except as a visitor, new to the capital. Most of those who had been conspicuous with him in the great war had passed away or had retired to private life. Most of his new associates had known of him only through history, and many of them as one of their most efficient enemies in the war time. But with all of them, old and new, friends and foes, his happy temperament soon won its way. Advancing years seemed to enrich the springs of his kindly nature and to increase the flow of his humor. His long and varied experiences, touching life at so many points, his keen faculty of observation and his retentive memory, together with the old time wit and eloquence, were soon appreciated. No social meeting was complete without him. At every public or private festive table, whether a reunion of old soldiers, a meeting of his congressional associates, the formal dinner parties of official circles, or the more elegant and exclusive entertainments of fashionable society, he was a welcome guest. And wherever the wit and humor were brightest, the stories most amusing, and the

gayety most abounding, there you were sure to find him the centre of a circle of admiring friends and listeners. When, admonished by coming age and infirmity, he decided to retire from Congress, no man ever left Washington more beloved and regretted by men of all parties.

And so, withdrawing from the service of his country to the well-earned rest of private life, he lived his remaining years surrounded by those things

“Which should accompany old age,
As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends.”

CURTIN'S GUBERNATORIAL BATTLES.

BY THOMAS M. MARSHALL.



THOMAS M. MARSHALL.

My intimate personal knowledge of Mr. Curtin commenced in the exciting canvass which preceded the Republican nomination for governor in 1860. The ruling political powers at Harrisburg were not friendly to his nomination. Senator Cameron was a presidential aspirant, and all over the State his adherents

were at work to promote his candidacy. No man could afford to underrate or despise the power, sagacity and incessant labor which was bestowed in this political harvest field to obtain the mastery. The followers of Cameron centred their efforts in the West upon Mr. Covode, of Westmoreland County, as their candidate for governor. They had one or two local candidates to weaken the Curtin sentiment in Western counties where Cameron was not

individually popular or strong. Mr. Covode had a very considerable personal following ; he had, moreover, substantial aid and friendship outside of politics. He was gifted with a startling, and I may say, rather rough-and-ready power of saying all he knew, at least, on the slightest opportunity or provocation. This made him popular with no inconsiderable class of voters. A large majority of the politicians of the State were then under the Cameron influence, which extended more or less in every county of the State. It was no secret that the nomination of Mr. Covode meant a solid, united delegation to Chicago, in the interest and under the power of Cameron.

Curtin had no sympathy with Cameron's ambition. He looked and hoped for a higher type of man, and in this thought he had the sympathy and the support of the younger, braver and more chivalrous members of the Republican party. The writer was first invited to enter the Curtin fight and make it his own, by the man who is now performing the tender heart duty of gathering the biography of his constant loving friend, who leaned upon him and confided in him all the days and years of his distinguished and honorable public career, and after he had retired to his home in the mountains, to await the inevitable summons which comes to each one of us who still linger as survivors of the sorrows, struggles and life-battles of the long past. That nominating convention was of itself in power Titanic. The leaders, who fought that all-night battle in the State capital, will never forget the desperate struggle which eventuated in a brilliant victory for Curtin and his friends. He entered upon the State canvass with the promise made to the convention when called before it for congratulation, when he

assured them he would carry their battle-flag from Lake Erie to the Delaware without stain or dishonor. How well he fulfilled the promise is known to those who listened to his cheering eloquence and inspiring enthusiasm from the "Inland Sea" to the Delaware.

The memory of a great meeting at Lake Erie is recalled, where, during a pitiless rain, crowds waited all day to hear "Andy Curtin" and his arm-bearers in the park grounds. Again at night in the public hall, until midnight, the mass of voters waited and cheered until the exhausted speakers sought repose in railroad cars that carried them to other points of duty. Not a politician in the popular acceptance of the term, he had not acquired the gift of knee genuflections for thrift and profit, but he was magnetic, straight, tall, majestic in presence, animated and fired with the lust of intellectual battle. I can recall many of the great gatherings which met him in traversing the State. Ready in supreme audacity of manner, elegant in address, quick in repartee, he was the ideal orator of the people. He had gathered around him the best talent of the State; bold, daring men who threw all their powers into the contest; men full of the courage of their convictions and inspired by the threatening aspects of the southern division of the nation. How well they bore themselves is to be found in the great majority that rewarded their labors.

The Republican Convention of 1860 was not so much a political battle, as a great moral evolution. The abolition of slavery and the other great reforms in the interest of humanity are not the results of intellectual conviction. They are the results of the religious element of man's nature. The Divine in humanity was ingrafted in man's being. The words of the Book are:

“And God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.” I have seen many masses of men moved to tears during the warm contest of the war, at the recitals of the sins and wrongs inflicted on the poor and helpless. Many were thus incited and inspired to leave home and all its comforts to fight in the battles of the great rebellion.

After the nomination, Curtin attended the Chicago convention and co-operated with Horace Greeley and other earnest and radical men to defeat the aspiration of Thurlow Weed and his followers, to nominate Mr. Seward. It is not necessary to repeat any of the doings of that convention, which resulted in placing Abraham Lincoln at the head of the national column. Few men at that time foresaw the revolution, then in embryo. Curtin was not an extremist. I well remember the arrangement of the ratification meeting held in Old City Hall, Pittsburg, when Curtin and the delegates from the convention returned. They put up at the Monongahela House, and a grand meeting was held. Curtin was the first speaker. His address did not come up to the standard of our anti-slavery thought. He said John Brown had been executed according to the law, etc. Pandemonium was let loose at this declaration. The only foreign speaker, who met the views of a Pittsburg audience, was Phil White, of Philadelphia. Although in the formal arrangement for the meeting it was absolute that no home speaker should address the meeting, the people set aside the committee's fixture and in a swift and imperious call compelled a radical of the radicals to speak for them. He responded, and I well remember his words when, with emphatic voice and furious earnestness, he denounced all laws sustaining

slavery and crucifying the lives, liberty and rights of man. Holding his right arm high above him, he declared, "I trust in God I will live to see the day when a white marble column shall lift itself toward heaven from the scene of the assassination of that lover of God and man, John Brown, a man nobler than the martyrs of old, who died for their own liberty and rights. John Brown, like the Master, died for the poor, the helpless and alien race, who received nothing from the dominant white race but barbarous stripes, brutal murder and mental and moral degradation."

The whirlwind of applause which greeted these utterances shook the building to its foundation and sent most of our Eastern visitors home with cold chills. This radical speaker rode in a sleeping-car as far as Greensburg in company with the Eastern delegates, and he hugely enjoyed the deprecation of his views, and especially as they suggested to each other that it would be well to vacate the appointments of that unsavory speaker in Philadelphia and other conservative portions of the commonwealth.

It was not long after that the guns were heard at Sumter and the rebellion launched its confederate ship of state. All these conservative Republicans then got near about where Jim Lane, of Kansas, stood when he was elected to the United States Senate. When Jim arrived at Washington, a conservative gentleman, who thought the Union and slavery might have endured comfortably in the same national cradle, inquired of the senator if he was an abolitionist. Jim replied promptly, "No, sir." "Well, are you an anti-slavery man?" "No, sir," again was the reply. "Then what are your sentiments on that subject?" "I am an

obliterationist, sir. Obliterate the damned system and all its collaterals." Then the conversation paused.

Three years of administration of the affairs of this commonwealth, civil and military ; three years of administration that will go down in the pages of history as heroic in conception and wise in execution ; the onerous duties imposed upon Governor Curtin as the executive of the Keystone State, the State most exposed to the dangers and calamities of hostile invasion, and the many far-reaching and resolute labors of those three years, are known to all lovers of our country. In 1863, Curtin was again nominated, called upon to carry the war-flag of the State all over its hills, mountains, and valleys, and to its utmost borders. How well that duty was performed is known, and the conservative minds who were so alarmed at the radical utterance at Pittsburg had got far enough along the pathway of progress to be equal to the most advanced radical in the land. The Democrats nominated a great man, of undoubted power and ability as a scholar, lawyer and judge, George W. Woodward. Judge Woodward was a Democrat, an ultra Democrat. He had proclaimed the draft unconstitutional, the legal tender system of finance illegal. Many money and commercial interests had been dissatisfied with the uncertainty of the war ; therefore, Judge Woodward had support outside of his party limits.

It is said that capital is selfish. This is not the time and place to make record of what is known to persons still living, of the consultation that was held after the battle of Antietam, by capitalists and railroad magnates, looking toward the settlement of our national troubles, without the consent or approbation of the national administration. The danger from our own side of the

border line became so imminent that a patriotic citizen of Philadelphia, holding a high judicial position, visited President Lincoln and placed all the facts before the administration. It was no secret that if Judge Woodward had been elected and his principles of government approved, martial law would have been declared in Pennsylvania and the power and authority of the government maintained, disregarding constitutional quibbles born of other than patriotic motives or considerations. In the canvass of 1863, Curtin had the aid of all his home talent, reinforced by bluff Ben Wade, of Ohio, Tom Corwin, and others of national repute, but none of them supplanted Curtin in the affection and admiration of the people. In consequence of the withdrawal of an immense number of our war voters to the field, who were thereby disfranchised, the issue of this campaign was close and in many ways uncertain. Many money interests were willing for peace at any price, but thanks to the loyal hearts in the field, who with one voice, as it were, demanded the success of the War Governor, he was again elected. His election was not the result of political management, although he had the wisest and most gifted minds as helpful counselors. As has been said, he was not a politician. He was too emotional to be cautious; he was too proud to seek selfish ends at the price of self-respect and spotless honor. His nature was too open for deceit, and the special weakness of his mental make up, was too much confidence in those who professed to be and ought to have been his friends. More than once I have heard him accused of failure of fulfillment of promises. That might well occur with a man of his open, tender heart. He desired to serve every man who was a friend or

promised friendship. He may, in instances, have been more liberal in intention than he had the power and ability to perform. That was not deception or bad faith, it was an overflow of good, kind intentions, and there is a limit to every man's power of gift which should always be considered in making up judgment of human character.

With an intimate personal acquaintance with Andrew G. Curtin, it is but the truth that I have never known a man gifted with a more kindly, earnest nature, ready to fulfill all the duties of his manhood. It must not be supposed that Mr. Curtin was a weakling, shunning the ill-will or resentment of personal foes, whilst his nature was genial, kindly and confiding to a fault. If an opponent or adversary but seemed to touch his honor or his manhood, he was firm and despotic in his resentment. His outraged nature became hard as adamant and relentless in purpose. The affection which gathered around his name and person up to the sad day when the news was given of his death, when he fell asleep at his home in the mountains, which he loved so well, best attests the appreciation which the people gave to a noble, exalted and fearless spirit, which spent all its powers in the service of the State and nation. The conformation of the man was the fullness of apparent opposites, which in his strange but happy adaptation blended to make him a model gentleman, wanting in nothing that goes to exhibit the godlike in man.

CURTIN AS A CIVIL ADMINISTRATOR.

BY WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG.



WILLIAM H. ARMSTRONG.

Governor Curtin was no ordinary man. His place in history is among the greatest of the statesmen and heroes of the war. By that unerring instinct of the people which assigns to each his appropriate place in the unending procession of civil and military administration, he was crowned with that highest distinction

tion, among all the governors of the loyal States, which will adhere to his memory forever, the "Great War Governor." His devotion to the army, and especially to the soldiers of the State, was conspicuous and universally recognized. Nor was such unwearied service his only claim to that high distinction. His counsel was sought by the national administration through the entire progress of the war, and his co-operation was

prompt, energetic and efficient. Neither the national nor any State administration was so organized as to meet the exigencies of war. The sudden demand for men and arms and munitions of war, clothing, food and transportation, taxed to the utmost not only the resources, but the executive ability of the President and of the governor of every loyal State. Pennsylvania being a border State, and in the direct line of military transportation to Washington, the then objective point of assault, imposed upon her Governor responsibilities and duties not elsewhere imposed upon any State executive, and they were met with such prompt efficiency as to command universal commendation.

Not the least among the uncertainties and embarrassments which confronted the President was the doubts which surrounded the national credit. It was assailed with malignant persistence by the opponents of the administration, and the right to borrow money upon the national credit to suppress the rebellion was vehemently denied. The dissolution of the Union, as an accomplished fact by the secession of the rebellious States, was persistently asserted, and the right of the government to coerce their continuance as a part of the United States was violently denied. If such doctrine prevailed, the validity of any bond issued by the "United States" would be at least doubtful, and could not command the confidence of capital either at home or abroad. But even if the Union were dissolved, no question could arise as to the survival of the States, and their credit would necessarily survive the dissolution of the Union. Under these circumstances President Lincoln determined to invite the several loyal States to endorse the bonds of the United States for such limited amount as they might

severally agree. As a precedent in such policy, he determined to apply first to Pennsylvania.

It so happened that I was elected to the popular branch of the Legislature in 1860, at the same time that Governor Curtin was elected for his first term. It is one of the happy incidents of my life that I was honored with his confidence, and that we were steadfast friends during all his life.

Shortly after the commencement of active hostilities, Governor Curtin called into confidential conference, at the executive chamber, Colonel A. K. McClure, of the Senate, and myself of the House, together with a few other members of the Senate and the House, whose names unfortunately I am unable to recall, and laid before us a telegram from President Lincoln to the Governor, inquiring whether Pennsylvania would endorse ten million dollars of the bonds of the United States. It was a question of the gravest importance, and was discussed with most anxious solicitude. We were unanimous in the belief that the Legislature would pass the necessary law to authorize such endorsement. We separated with the understanding that the Governor would have a bill prepared for the purpose, which was to be introduced by Colonel McClure in the Senate, and passed, if possible, through both houses with the least possible delay. We were to assemble the next morning at the executive chamber to consider the bill. When we met, the Governor, with a face beaming with satisfaction, laid before us another telegram from the President, stating that the bankers of New York, Philadelphia and Boston had, after conference, agreed to take the bonds of the United States without State endorsement, and upon the sole credit of the United States. Thus is the nation

indebted to those patriotic masters of finance for the first establishment of the credit of the United States during the war.

His achievements as War Governor have been thoroughly crystallized in history. His achievements in the administration of the civil affairs of the State have been largely overshadowed. They were of the highest importance, and contributed in no small degree to the astonishing development of the vast natural resources of the State and the stability and extension of her commercial relations.

In the session of the Legislature of 1861, immediately following his inauguration, the question of the "repeal of the tonnage tax" became the leading measure of the session and excited extraordinary antagonism, both political and commercial. Petitions for and remonstrances against the repeal were numerous, and embraced the names of leading men of all parties and representing commercial and industrial interests of every character. The State debt was large, about twenty-seven million dollars, exclusive of available securities, and the population only 2,906,370. There was then due from the Pennsylvania Railroad about seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars tonnage tax already accrued. We were upon the eve of civil war, with all its untried possibilities, and the evident necessity of enormous expenditures by the State. The financial condition, both State and national, was one of grave anxiety, and the people were naturally excited over a proposition which would ostensibly diminish the revenues of the State. The railway system was in its infancy, and few, even the most sanguine, ventured to predict its enormous development; nor, how rapidly it would dominate all modes of

transportation, nor how much it would contribute to the general prosperity. The State had expended more than \$40,000,000 upon her system of internal improvements, and it was only natural that the people should demand of their representatives the utmost vigilance to protect this great investment, the largest part of which was in the construction of what was popularly known as the "Main Line." It was owned by the State, and consisted of the Columbia Railroad, extending from Philadelphia to Columbia, and the canal extending from there to Pittsburg, including the "Portage Railroad" across the mountains from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown, a distance of about 45 miles. The inadequacy of this transportation is manifest from the briefest statement of its methods. The system was in its day a triumph of enterprise and engineering skill, but it had served its day and was rapidly becoming obsolete. This cumbrous system embraced an inclined plane in West Philadelphia, operated by a stationary engine and an endless wire rope, and the transportation of loaded boats by rail over the mountains from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown upon the Portage Railroad. Canal boats for this traffic were specially constructed in three independent water-tight sections which, when in the water, were held together for towage with iron hooks. At the receiving basins of the Portage road, on either side of the mountains, the sections were detached and floated separately over railroad trucks to which they were securely fastened and on which they were transported over the mountains to be again deposited in the canal on the opposite side.

The inadequacy of such transportation to compete with rival roads was painfully evident. On the north there were the New York Central Canal, the New York

Central Railroad, the New York & Erie Railroad and the Canadian Railroad. On the south was the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. All these roads were without any tonnage tax to harass and hinder them in the fair competition of trade. The rapidly increasing population and development of the far West was making transportation much more a national than a State question. Chicago, in the supremacy of her position as a railroad centre and point of distribution, commanded the railroad transportation of all the territory to the west of the lakes. In addition to this, transportation upon the lakes found its most convenient port at Buffalo, and through the Central Canal poured its traffic into the city of New York.

Pennsylvania, and especially Philadelphia, was so evidently falling behind in this competition, that in 1846 the Legislature chartered the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to construct a road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and Philadelphia subscribed more than one-third of the required capital of \$30,000,000. But it was manifest that the construction of this road, parallel to the "Main Line," would deprive the State of its accustomed revenue from that source and greatly reduce its value. To compensate such loss it was provided in the charter that the company should pay to the State a tax of five mills per ton per mile upon the tonnage of the road during the navigable season of the canal, but this was afterward changed to three mills for the whole year. From the opening of this road and through traffic the receipts from the "Main Line" fell off rapidly, until they scarcely equaled expenses. Charges of mismanagement, corruption and fraud in the management were freely made, until the whole State was aroused, and in

1857 an act was passed for the sale of the "Main Line," and by which the whole tax was repealed. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company became the purchaser in 1857, but the Supreme Court declared that part of the act which repealed the tonnage tax, unconstitutional, because it gave special exemption from taxation to certain property of the corporation. Nothing further was done in respect to it until 1861, when bills to repeal the tonnage tax were introduced in both the Senate and the House.

The injustice as well as the impolicy of this tax was conspicuous in that it was levied only upon transportation between Philadelphia and Pittsburg. Freights upon the Philadelphia & Reading road were not taxed nor upon the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore road, nor upon any part of the line between Philadelphia and New York. Thus the citizens of the State dependent upon the Pennsylvania Central road were taxed, whilst all other citizens were not taxed upon tonnage, in the use of any other railroads in the State.

In the intense competition of trade which confronted the business of the State, and especially of Philadelphia, the tax of three mills per ton per mile, was, upon some kinds of freight, almost prohibitory, and at the present day almost equals the total charges for such transportation.

But the severest contest in the Legislature centred around the \$750,000 of tonnage tax already due and payable to the State. The debt was not denied, but it was claimed that it would best promote the general interest to permit the amount to be appropriated in aid of certain weak and struggling roads whose completion would largely advance the development of the sections

through which they were located. It would be foreign to the purpose of this sketch to enter into that discussion. This view prevailed and the act to repeal the tonnage tax was finally passed. That it excited intense popular discussion and wide diversity of opinion was only natural. No abler debate was ever held in the Legislature. Among the many Senators and members of the House who participated in the debate, Senator Penny was conspicuous. He rigorously opposed the bill in an exhaustive argument of extraordinary ability. Senator McClure supported the bill in an argument of equal strength and great eloquence and power, and which closed the debate. It is only just to say that to his able advocacy the final passage of the bill may be attributed.

It was well understood that Governor Curtin favored the bill, and there should be accorded to him the just measure of commendation to which his earnest support of the measure justly entitles him. Without his approval it could not have become the law. The act of 1857, for the sale of the Main Line and repeal of the tonnage tax, had been passed under the administration of Governor Pollock, and whilst Curtin, afterward Governor, was Secretary of State. Governor Pollock was earnest in his advocacy of the repeal, and, after the Supreme Court declared the clause to repeal the tonnage tax unconstitutional, he, in his last message to the Legislature, advocated the passage of another act free from the objections which had overthrown the first. Governor Curtin, in his then capacity of Secretary of the Commonwealth, had made close study of the question and was strongly impressed with the necessity of the repeal. Looking back at this distance to the strife which the repeal engendered and the bitterness with which he was

assailed by reason of his approval of the bill, it is only just to bear witness to the far-reaching wisdom which so justly measured his statesmanship as the executive of the State, in the approval of a measure which has contributed so largely to the development of the vast natural resources of the State and the maintenance of its commercial and industrial interests.

PARDONING POWER.

Before the Constitution of 1874 the pardoning power was vested solely in the executive. The anxious solicitude with which Governor Curtin examined all applications for executive clemency was well known. The pardons granted by him were fewer than by his predecessors, and were as a rule sustained by public opinion. But the pardons he refused were even of greater consequence, and his refusals were sustained with marked unanimity by the press and the people.

His views in this regard were clearly expressed in his first inaugural address, and his action was at all times consistent with the policy thus declared.

He said: "The pardoning power is one of the most important and delicate powers conferred upon the Chief Magistrate by the constitution, and it should always be exercised with great caution, and never except on the most conclusive evidence that it is due to the condemned, and that the public security will not be prejudiced by the act. When such applications are presented to the executive it is due to society, to the administration of justice, and to all interested that public notice should be given. By the adoption of such a regulation imposition will be prevented and just efforts will be strengthened."

I had occasion in a few instances to appeal to his executive discretion in this regard, and was always impressed with the carefulness of his inquiries and the justice of his conclusions. I well remember one occasion in which I presented such an application at the Executive Chamber. He was much engaged at the time, and requested me to call at his residence in the evening. When I called I was shown into his private office, where I had a full interview upon the particular case which I presented. The conversation became general upon the pardoning power, and he expressed his earnest conviction that there was absolute necessity for some constitutional provision, which should limit the discretion of the executive in this regard. Rising from his seat, he threw open the folding doors of a large paper case, fitted with pigeon-holes, which he said was appropriated exclusively to applications for pardons, of which several hundred were then awaiting consideration for almost every crime known to the law—from murder to the most trivial offences. He remarked with great feeling that in all the round of executive duty there was nothing which so harassed his judgment as the conflict which at times arose between the desire to yield to the sympathy, which the distress he so often witnessed compelled, and his conscious duty to the State, in upholding the due administration of the law and making certain the execution of the judgment of the courts as the surest of all safeguards against the commission of crimes.

He spoke of instances, not a few, in which wives, mothers and daughters, admitted to the executive chamber, but more frequently at his home, threw themselves at his feet pleading in unutterable anguish for the life of some one dear as life to them. Often their persistence

was such that it was with the greatest difficulty he could be relieved of their presence.

If Governor Curtin ever allowed his sensibilities to bias his judgment in such applications, it was when some soldier, absent in the field, returned to find himself the victim of some grievous wrong—perhaps dishonored, and in the quick frenzy of his passion took signal vengeance on the doer of the wrong. In such cases, where the inexorable law had been vindicated, the executive pardon was extended with universal approbation. Curtin was often heard to say, “I cannot hang a soldier.”

Such experience was afterward of signal value to the State. Governor Curtin and myself were both elected as delegates-at-large to the convention which framed the Constitution of 1874. He was appointed chairman of the Committee “On Executive Department”—and at his request I was appointed on the same committee. The subject of executive pardons was frequently discussed by the chairman and myself—and at his request I formulated Section 9, of Article IV, of the Constitution—which, upon submission to the committee, was approved and reported to the convention. It was adopted as part of that article. It left the pardoning power still in the Governor, but provided that “no pardon shall be granted nor sentence commuted except upon the recommendation in writing of the Lieutenant Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Attorney General and Secretary of Internal Affairs, or any three of them, after full hearing, upon due public notice, and in open session; and such recommendation, with the reasons therefor at length, shall be recorded and filed in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth.”

This provision checked an abuse of long standing,

and removed a fruitful source of scandal, and gave to the Executive exemption from importunate appeals which often brought executive duty into distressing conflict with natural tenderness and sympathy.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

It is within the memory of very many citizens of the State that the inauguration of the public school system of Pennsylvania encountered an intensity of opposition, and especially in the German counties, which at this day is almost incredible. It was looked upon as an invasion of the personal rights of the citizen to levy taxes to be expended upon other people's children. The education of children was regarded as a private duty, to be exercised in the sole discretion of the parent—and not as a public necessity to be maintained and supervised by the State, in the interest of good order and the intelligent exercise of the duties of citizenship. This history has been too often written to be repeated here. Sixty years ago the contest was acrimonious and bitter in the extreme. The growth of the more liberal sentiment which now prevails was slow but constant.

The Constitution of 1874 requires that "The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of public schools, wherein all the children of this commonwealth above the age of six years may be educated, and shall appropriate at least one million of dollars each year for that purpose."

So rapidly has the system grown in public favor that the annual appropriation from the State funds is now about five million dollars in addition to the school tax of the several districts. Its value to the State is so fully

recognized that the last Legislature has made the education of all the children of the State compulsory.

In this long controversy Governor Curtin was conspicuous in his constant advocacy of the system, and in the support of every measure which enlarged its operations and increased the liberality of its maintenance, both by State appropriations and a liberal school tax within the districts. He was Secretary of the Commonwealth during the administration of Governor Pollock from 1855 to 1858. The Secretary was then charged with the control of the school system and it was he who first organized the system into a district department. His services were of the highest value in educating the people up to the just appreciation of the public schools as the strongest support of intelligent and regulated liberty.

In his inaugural address, upon assuming the office of governor, in January, 1861, he said: "Our system of common schools will ever enlist my earnest solicitude. For its growing wants the most ample provision should be made by the Legislature. I feel that I need not urge this duty. The system has been gaining in strength and usefulness for a quarter of a century, until it has silenced opposition by its benevolent fruits. It has at times languished for want of just appropriations, from changes and amendments of the law, and perhaps from inefficiency in its administration; but it has surmounted every difficulty and is now regarded by the enlightened and patriotic of every political faith as the great bulwark of safety for our free institutions."

He also strongly advocated liberal support to the "Farmers' High School," an institution which, at that time, was regarded by many as an experiment of doubtful utility.

He said: "A liberal appropriation for that purpose would be honorable to the Legislature and a just recognition of a system of public instruction that is of the highest importance to the State in the development of our wealth, the growth of our population, and the prosperity of our great agricultural interests."

Through his entire administration, for two consecutive terms, his support of every measure to advance the efficiency of the system was vigorous, continuous and efficient. As a member of the Constitutional Convention he gave pronounced and efficient support to the provision of the constitution which placed the common schools of Pennsylvania beyond the contingency of political controversy or the caprice of legislation.

THREE MILLION DOLLARS LOAN.

The devotion of Pennsylvania to the union of the States cannot be better illustrated than in a brief sketch of the conditions under which this loan was made. Nor is there anything in the executive administration of Governor Curtin which more distinctly exhibits his fearless patriotism and his acknowledged leadership. The attitude of Pennsylvania in the threatening aspect of public affairs was plainly of the highest national importance. From her position, all troops from New York and the New England States, should troops be necessary, must pass through her territory. As a border State, she might easily become a seat of war. As a conservative State, the South looked to her with confidence for at least moral support. Her large population, her great wealth and inexhaustible resources, gave to her an admitted precedence which the national government and all the States, whether loyal or disloyal, were prompt to acknowledge.

The sentiment and the sympathies of her people were divided.

Governor Packer, the immediate predecessor of Governor Curtin, in his last annual message to the Legislature, January 1, 1861, voiced the dominant sentiment of his party in recommending "that the consent of the State be given, that the master while sojourning in our State for a limited period, or passing through it, may be accompanied by his slave without losing his right to his service." And in his further recommendation that "the General Assembly instruct and request our Senators and Representatives in Congress to support a proposition for an amendment of the constitution, to be submitted for ratification or rejection to a convention of delegates, elected directly by the people of the State, to re-enact the old compromise line of 1820, and extending to the boundary of California," and "if Congress should fail speedily to propose this, or a similar amendment to the constitution, the citizens of Pennsylvania should have the opportunity, by the application of some peaceable remedy, to prevent the dismemberment of this Union."

Governor Curtin was inaugurated the fifteenth day of January, 1861. His inaugural address declared, in terms not to be mistaken, the policy of the new administration, that there should be no compromise with treason. He declared that "the convictions of the State on the vital questions which have agitated the public mind, are well understood at home and should not be misunderstood abroad.

"In the present unhappy condition of the country, it will be our duty to unite with the people of the States which remain loyal to the Union in any just and honorable measures of conciliation and fraternal kindness. Let

us invite them to join us in the fulfillment of all our obligations under the federal constitution and laws.

“Ours is a national government. It has, within the sphere of its action, all the attributes of sovereignty, and among these are the right and duty of self-preservation. It is based upon a compact to which all the people of the United States are parties. It acts directly on the people, and they owe it a personal allegiance. No part of the people, no State, nor combination of States, can voluntarily secede from the Union, nor absolve themselves from their obligations to it. To permit a State to withdraw at pleasure from the Union without the consent of the rest, is to confess that our government is a failure. Pennsylvania can never acquiesce in such a conspiracy nor assent to a doctrine which involves the destruction of the government.

“It is the first duty of the national authorities to stay the progress of anarchy and enforce the laws, and Pennsylvania, with a united people, will give them an honest, faithful and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the National Union at every hazard.”

These patriotic and fearless expressions of the Executive found quick response in the people of the State. They were published in the leading journals of all the loyal States, and largely contributed to arouse the dormant patriotism of the people. It was apt preparation of the public mind, reluctant to believe that treason could extend to the extremity of war, for the armed struggle so near at hand. The clouds of war were gathering rapidly, and no watchman on the towers discerned the coming storm more clearly nor more promptly prepared for its coming.

On the ninth of April he sent a special message to the Legislature, the period of whose adjournment was rapidly approaching, calling its attention to the condition of the military organization of the State.

He states that "the military system of the State, during a long period distinguished by the pursuits of peaceful industry exclusively, has become wholly inefficient; numerous companies are without the necessary arms, and of the arms that are distributed but few are provided with the modern appliances to render them serviceable." He recommends "that arms be procured and distributed to those of our citizens who may enter into the military service of the State; and that steps be taken to change the guns already distributed, by the adoption of such well-known and tried improvements as will render them effective in the event of their employment in actual service." He calls attention to the "military organizations of a formidable character, and which seem not to be demanded by any existing public exigency, which have been formed in certain of the States." He declares that "the most exalted public policy and the clearest obligations of true patriotism, therefore admonish us, in the existing deplorable and dangerous crisis of affairs; that our militia system should receive from the Legislature that prompt attention which public exigencies, either of the State or nation, may appear to demand, and which may seem in your wisdom best adapted to preserve and secure to the people of Pennsylvania and the Union the blessings of peace, and the integrity and stability of our unrivaled constitutional government."

Thus early and clearly did the great "War Governor" perceive the magnitude of the approaching crisis, and the necessity for immediate preparation. It may be

said of him, and every act of his administration during the entire war confirms it, that no official, State or national, more clearly discerned the strength of the rebellion, nor predicated official action upon a clearer conviction that the war must come and would be of long continuance and require the utmost exertion of military power, both State and national, to preserve the integrity of the Union.

The Legislature promptly responded to the Governor's recommendation, and on the twelfth of April passed the bill to reorganize the militia and appropriated \$500,000 for that purpose.

Whilst the bill was under consideration the attack upon Fort Sumter was announced. It surrendered on the thirteenth of April. The effect upon the Legislature, as upon the State and the country, was in the extreme. For a while it seemed as though no place was left in all the loyal North in which treason might hide its head. The Legislature adjourned on the eighteenth. Events of highest importance crowded upon each other with startling rapidity. On the fifteenth of April the President issued his call for 75,000 men for three months' service. Under this call the quota was not only promptly filled but 283 organized military companies, from every part of the State, offered their services and could not be accepted. On the twenty-fifth Governor Curtin under his deep conviction of the necessity issued his proclamation calling upon Pennsylvania in addition to the quota to be furnished under the call of the President, for twenty-five regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, to serve for three years or during the war. This call was without authority from the government at Washington, and rested solely on the Governor's

responsibility as commander-in-chief of the military forces of the State, and upon the recommendation of Major General Robert Patterson, and other military officers of high command. The response was immediate and overwhelming. Men crowded to Harrisburg importunate for service, coming without arms and often without adequate clothing, and necessitating immediate provision for food and shelter. It was expected that the national government would promptly and gladly accept these additional regiments, and muster them into the United States service. But men high in authority at Washington looked upon the call as wholly unnecessary, and did not hesitate to say that the three months' men called for by the President were adequate for all military demands. There was a rude awakening from this dream of security, and not many weeks elapsed until the government was calling earnestly for the troops it had so recently rejected.

On the nineteenth of April, Massachusetts volunteers hastening, at the call of the government, to the defence of Washington, were violently assaulted in the streets of Baltimore and four of their number killed and several wounded.

On the twentieth day of April the Governor issued his proclamation, summoning the Legislature to meet on Tuesday, the thirtieth day of April, in special session. When assembled he immediately sent in his special message, briefly reviewing the exciting emergency and stating, "I have called you together, not only to provide for a complete reorganization of the militia of the State, but also that you may give me authority to pledge the faith of the commonwealth to borrow such sums of money as you may, in your discretion,

deem necessary for these extraordinary requirements. I recommend the immediate organization, disciplining and arming of at least fifteen regiments of cavalry and infantry, exclusive of those called into the service of the United States, as we have already ample warning of the necessity of being prepared for any sudden exigency that may arise."

A bill was promptly passed, approved May 15, authorizing the organization of fifteen regiments for service for three years or during the war, and a loan of three millions of dollars. These regiments, intended originally for the defence of this commonwealth, were subsequently mustered into the service of the United States, and became conspicuous as the "Pennsylvania Reserves" in many of the severest conflicts of the war.

The loan was taken, but not without hesitation, and under the stress of the Governor's personal influence.

The public debt of the State, exclusive of available securities, exceeded twenty-seven millions of dollars, to which had been added the recent loan of \$500,000. It was not surprising that financiers, in view of this large indebtedness, the evident necessity for large loans to the national government and the exigencies of war already commenced, hesitated to buy this new loan of the State for so large an amount. The credit of the State was in danger, and the need for money was daily becoming more urgent. In these circumstances the Governor went to Philadelphia for an interview with the leading bankers of the city. He satisfied them of the absolute security of the loan and arranged with them for payments no faster than necessity required. Under this arrangement a few of the leading bankers, among whom were Drexel & Co., and E. W. Clark & Co., and Jay

Cooke & Co., agreed to announce the taking of the entire loan. Upon this announcement the credit of the State was so assured that the bonds were at once in demand, and both the Governor and the bankers relieved from all anxiety concerning them.

The conditions which surrounded the execution of this law were of the most perplexing and difficult character. An efficient staff was promptly organized, and measures at once taken to supply with the utmost expedition the pressing necessities of the new force so rapidly forming. Unscrupulous adventurers swarmed around the capital. All the devices of ingenious fraud were resorted to to impose upon the officers inferior articles, and oftentimes taking the chances on the plainest fraud. I well remember an invoice of army shoes—rejected, of course—in which, among some of approved quality, were mixed a large number of shoes of apparent excellence, in which the soles were filled with shavings of wood, concealed with a thin covering of leather. When these soles were cut across and bent the shavings popped out. So also in clothing—the most worthless shoddy was worked up into fair appearing garments. In every department the utmost vigilance was required to protect the State against these manifold devices of fraud. The strain of such incessant imposition, not only in the organization of regiments, but in the selection and commissioning of officers, the adjustment of innumerable disputes and his general watchfulness over every department of both the civil and military service, was greater than even the robust health of the Governor could bear, and his failing health compelled him to announce his absolute declination of a second nomination. It was not until the unanimous voice of the Republicans of the State and of the

convention, and the expressed desire of President Lincoln, compelled his acceptance, that he consented to run for the second term.

In these brief sketches I have confined myself to events which belong to the *genesis* of the war and appertain rather to the civil administration than to the military operations. They are events occurring largely within my personal knowledge, and whilst I was in close personal relations with the Governor.

His war record after the commencement of hostilities, his intimacy and confidential relations with Lincoln and with Secretary Stanton are not within my purpose. His influence was felt during the whole progress of the war, in the organization and furnishing to the government of 367,482 soldiers, besides 87,000 for service within the State. He was largely instrumental in procuring the passage of the law which authorized soldiers in the field to vote—many thousands of whom were unable to vote at his second election, but who were, under the law of 1864, permitted to vote at the succeeding Presidential election. The establishment, in 1863, of the Soldiers' Orphans' Schools originated with him, and was due to his personal efforts and influence. But these, and many other things so creditable to him, and redounding so greatly to the honor of the State, are not within the range of this brief but affectionate tribute to the memory of the great Governor with whose friendship I was honored and whose memory I revere.

CURTIN AND PENNSYLVANIA AT THE BEGINNING OF THE WAR.

BY GALUSHA A. GROW.



GALUSHA A. GROW.

The second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress began the first Monday in December, 1860. In November preceding Abraham Lincoln had been elected President, and at the State election in October before, Andrew G. Curtin was elected Governor of Pennsylvania. Sixteen days after the meeting of Congress,

South Carolina passed what she called an ordinance of secession, and on the twenty-eighth day of that month Fort Moultrie was seized and garrisoned by her State troops. On the third day of January following Fort Pulaski and Fort Jackson, at Savannah, were seized by order of the Governor of Georgia, and the next day

Fort Morgan, at Mobile, was seized by order of the Governor of Alabama.

On the ninth day of January, 1861, the *Star of the West*, an unarmed vessel, carrying only provisions for the garrison in Fort Sumter, was fired upon and turned back at the entrance to the harbor of Charleston. One month later, February 9, 1861, delegates from the seven States known as the Cotton States—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana and Texas—having assembled at Montgomery, in the State of Alabama, elected Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens, President and Vice-President of the so-called Confederate States of America.

While these transactions in the Cotton States were occurring in such rapid succession, efforts were put forth in each of the fifteen slave-holding States to induce their co-operation in this movement for a dissolution of the Union, and for setting up a separate and independent government, bounded by the line that divided the slave-holding from the non-slave-holding States. Senators and Representatives in Congress, after the twentieth of December, 1860, from day to day as their respective States adopted ordinances of secession, were taking formal leave of Congress by publicly announcing to the presiding officer of their respective Houses that they had resigned their seats in the Congress of the United States. And with a grandiloquent declaration that their allegiance to the State in which they lived, was paramount to their allegiance to the government of the Union, they bade their associates in legislation a long and, as they thought then, a lasting farewell, as they went forth to execute their revolutionary scheme peaceably if they could, forcibly if they must.

The annual message of Mr. Buchanan to Congress, on the fourth of December, 1860 was devoted almost wholly to a discussion of the two subjects, which had then become the all-absorbing question in the public mind, slavery and disunion. In this message referring to Congress he said, "You may be called upon to decide the momentous question whether you possess the power by force of arms to compel a State to remain in the Union. Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a State into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn, from the Confederacy?" The word confederacy at that time had a significance and political meaning never before attached to it, so it was a singular word for a President of the United States to use in any official document discussing existing things. Instead of leaving Congress to dispose of this question by its own deliberate action, as he should have done after calling its attention to it, he volunteered his opinion as to what that action ought to be, in the following language: "After much serious reflection I have arrived at the conclusion that no such power has been delegated to Congress or to any other department of the Federal Government."

This opinion, obtruded upon Congress as if to forestall its action, was the opinion held at that time by most of the leaders of the Democratic party, North as well as South. It was upon this constitutional construction that all disunionists relied for securing peaceable secession. The advocates of this construction had themselves been the most zealous defenders of Jefferson in his acquisition of the territory of Louisiana by purchase from France, when there was no grant of power in the constitution for any such purpose. In the mad delusion

of the hour they ignored the plain, logical conclusion, that if the government could acquire territory for the safety and well being of the Union, it could by the exercise of the same power prevent any State or the people thereof from taking such territory out of the Union. The power to acquire, whatever it might be, could not be greater than the power to retain. This common sense construction of constitutional power prevailed everywhere, with what Lincoln called the plain people, if not biased by their devotion to the institutions of slavery. But constitutional power, or constitutional construction, were of no consequence or consideration with the original plotters of disunion.

After the repeal of the Missouri compromise a few of the leading and most active devotees of slavery, mostly in the Cotton States, had agreed privately among themselves, that if ever the "Black Republicans," a term which they applied to all Free-soilers, that is to those who were opposed to any further extension of slavery beyond the then existing States, should ever elect a President, they would co-operate in inciting the slave-holding States to break up the Union. The sentiment inculcated by this secret conclave was never to submit to a "Black Republican" administration in the government of the Union. This scheme for a dissolution of the Union would have developed in 1856 had Fremont been elected, instead of developing in 1861 after Lincoln's election. The rapid occurrence of acts of spoliation on the government, seizing its forts, arsenals and mints, months before the expiration of Mr. Buchanan's term of office, were but steps in this plotted conspiracy for destroying the Union.

Mr. Lincoln, in his inaugural address to the thousands

assembled in front of the eastern portico of the Capitol, March 4, 1861, said in addressing directly his dissatisfied countrymen: "You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors." Up to that time, though the flag at the mast-head of the Star of the West had been fired upon, and various acts of spoliation upon the property of the government had been committed, no blood had been shed nor had there been any armed conflict between citizens of the republic.

On the twelfth day of April, 1861, but little more than a month after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, the roar of hostile cannon at Sumter, like that at Lexington in 1775, shook a continent as it echoed down the centuries. The time forewarned by Lincoln had come. His dissatisfied countrymen had become the aggressors. The first gun in the war for the dissolution of the Union had been fired; and while it sealed forever the doom of the Confederate States of America, it was the death knell of human bondage on the continent.

Three days later Mr. Lincoln issued his proclamation convening Congress in extra session on the fourth day of July following, and calling for 75,000 armed volunteers for the defence of the capital and the preservation of the Union. This proclamation reached Governor Curtin at Harrisburg the next day. Immediately he issued a call for volunteers. And within twelve hours thereafter 482 laborers, miners and mechanics in and about Pottsville, and in the Juniata Valley, Pennsylvania, leaving their tasks, Putnam-like, unfinished, and in their every-day laborers' garments, were on their way to Harrisburg to be armed and mustered into the service of their country. The State of Pennsylvania, on their arrival at its capital, had neither arms, clothing nor munitions of war

sufficient to equip these men. Governor Curtin, after mustering them into service, sent them to Washington to be armed and equipped.

On my way from home to Washington the eighteenth day of April, 1861, when the train reached Harrisburg a great number of men, clothed in the begrimed and blackened suits of the mines and the workshop, came into the cars. Their great number and unusual appearance excited the attention and curiosity of the passengers, leading to a general exclamation, "What does all this mean?" On inquiry we learned that these men were volunteer soldiers on their way to Washington in response to the President's proclamation. We all passed through Baltimore that afternoon, reaching Washington about five or six o'clock in the evening. These volunteers were quartered in the committee rooms on the first and second floors, surrounding the hall of the House of Representatives, where they remained until they received their arms and equipments ready for the tented field. This little heroic band of laborers from the interior of Pennsylvania, to whom Congress subsequently awarded medals and a vote of thanks, as First Defenders, were the vanguard in the mightiest conflict of arms in the history of the race. On the next day after these unarmed citizen soldiers marched through Baltimore, from the railroad station on one side of the city to the station on the other, the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, on its way to Washington, was attacked by the mob in its streets. The bridges along the railroad between that city and Havre de Grace were burned, and the wires were cut on all telegraph lines leading out of the city.

Washington was thus entirely cut off from railroad or telegraphic communication with the loyal States, until

the Seventh New York and Eighth Massachusetts Regiments opened communication by way of Annapolis. During this period Washington had the appearance of a deserted city. A person could pass along Pennsylvania avenue from the War Department to the Capitol at mid-day, and scarcely see a person on the street. With the setting sun every day two horsemen, in full cavalry uniform, could be seen walking their horses along the avenue to take their places as sentinels for the night at Long Bridge over the Potomac into Virginia, and at the bridge over the east branch near the navy yard. The clatter of the horses' shoes on the cobble stone pavement echoed along the abandoned streets, and was about the only noise to break their stillness. As a precaution against an uprising of secessionists in Washington, or of an incursion of the mob from Baltimore, or Alexandria, or both, the citizens then in Washington from the Northern States organized themselves into two companies, called the Kansas Brigade and Clay's Brigade. James H. Lane, of Kansas, was captain of the first, and Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, captain of the other. The War Department furnished them with arms and ammunition. They all wore citizens' clothes. The Kansas Brigade was quartered every night in the East Room of the Executive Mansion. Clay's Brigade, to which I belonged, had Willard's dancing hall, a building attached to his hotel, for their armory. These two organizations of undisciplined militia, called upon to act as minute men, were designed merely as a menace to the threat of the Baltimore mob to march to Washington and seize its public buildings. We continued in service until the Seventh New York and Eighth Massachusetts marched into the city from Annapolis.

Then the two brigades, returning their arms and munitions back to the War Department, disbanded. From that time Washington was a military camp until the battle-scarred veterans marched homeward through its streets, from their victorious fields of a Union saved and a country free.

During the four years of conflict preceding this last event the geographic position of the State of Pennsylvania made it practically, what it had always been in theory, the keystone of the Union. Its Southern boundary extended for its whole length along three slaveholding States. Washington, the capital of the Union, was about half way from this boundary line to the headquarters of the army of the Confederacy at Richmond.

The Governor of Pennsylvania was therefore required, while specially guarding the territory of his own State against hostile invasion, to look as well after the safety of the national capital. Antietam, one of the great battles of the war, was fought just over her boundary line, in Washington County in the State of Maryland; and the next year the decisive battle of the rebellion, and one of the great decisive battles of the world, was fought at Gettysburg, in Adams County, just within the Southern boundary of the State. It is a singular coincidence that these two great battles should have been fought in their respective order, in two counties named from the first and second Presidents of the United States; and both of them decisive triumphs for the Union.

Governor Curtin, in his inaugural address in January, 1861, two months before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, said: "It is the first duty of the national authorities to stay the progress of anarchy and enforce the

laws, and Pennsylvania with a united people will give them an honest, faithful and active support. The people mean to preserve the integrity of the national Union at every hazard." In his message to the Legislature, which he convened in extra session April 30, 1861, and after Pennsylvania's quota of the 75,000 men called for by the President had been filled, he said: "A quarter of a million of Pennsylvania's sons will answer the call to arms if need be, to wrest us from a reign of anarchy and plunder and secure for themselves and their children for ages to come the perpetuity of this government and its beneficent institutions."

Instead of a quarter of a million of Pennsylvania's sons, 454,842, almost half a million, answered the call to arms for the purposes indicated in the Governor's message. Two of Pennsylvania's sons bore the most conspicuous part at Gettysburg—Meade was the commanding general on the field, and Reynolds, by forcing his division far into the front early in the morning of the first day's conflict, secured Round Top and Cemetery Ridge for the Union Army, the most advantageous ground for the three days' battle. His military sagacity and heroic daring cost him his life, but it made victory doubly sure for the Union.

On the assembling of Congress at the extra session, July 4, 1861, no representatives appeared from the slaveholding States, except Delaware, Maryland and Kentucky, and part of Northern Missouri and Northern Virginia. An election of speaker was held without the formality of a party caucus. The House was composed of Republicans, Democrats of two kinds—Breckinridge and Douglas—and Americans; that is, those who had supported Bell and Everett at the preceding Presidential

election. On the first ballot I was elected speaker, though fourteen members were voted for. Most of the votes, however, were cast for Frank Blair, George H. Pendleton and myself.

At that time the Confederate flag carried by the advance of the Confederate Army was floating from the hill tops on the south side of the Potomac, in full view of the dome of the Capitol, and desponding patriotism was some time querying, whether it would not be better "to let the erring sisters go in peace." Called by the confiding kindness of my fellow members to the speakership of the Congress of the United States under such circumstances, the following are the concluding sentences of the address to the House on taking the speaker's chair :

A rebellion—the most causeless in the history of the race—has developed a conspiracy of long-standing to destroy the constitution and the Union, formed by the wisdom of our fathers, and cemented by their blood. This conspiracy, nurtured for long years in secret councils, first develops itself openly in acts of spoliation and plunder of public property, with the connivance, or under the protection of treason enthroned in all the high places of the government, and at last in armed rebellion for the overthrow of the best government ever devised by man. Without an effort in the mode prescribed by the organic law for a redress of all grievances, the malcontents appeal only to the arbitrament of the sword, insult the nation's honor, trample upon its flag, and inaugurate a revolution which, if successful, would end in establishing petty, jarring confederacies, or despotism and anarchy, upon the ruins of the republic, and the destruction of its liberties.

* * * * *

No flag alien to the sources of the Mississippi River will ever float permanently over its mouths till its waters are crimsoned in human gore; and not one foot of American soil can ever be wrenched from the jurisdiction of the Constitution of the United States, until it is first baptized in fire and blood.

"In God is our trust;
And the star-spangled banner shall, *forever*, wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

Those who regard it as mere cloth bunting fail to comprehend its symbolical power. Wherever civilization dwells, or the name of Washington is known, it bears in its folds the concentrated power of armies and navies, and surrounds its votaries with a defence more impregnable than battlement, wall or tower. Wherever on the earth's surface an American citizen may wander, called by pleasure, business or caprice, it is a shield secure against outrage and wrong—save on the soil of the land of his birth. As the guardians of the rights and liberties of the people, it becomes your paramount duty to make it respected at home as it is honored abroad. A government that cannot command the loyalty of its own citizens is unworthy the respect of the world; and a government that will not protect its loyal citizens deserves the contempt of the world.

The Union once destroyed, is a shattered vase that no human power can reconstruct in its original symmetry. "Coarse stones when they are broken may be cemented again—precious ones, never." If the republic is to be dismembered and the sun of its liberty must go out in endless night, let it set amid the roar of cannon and the din of battle, when there is no longer an arm to strike or a heart to bleed in its cause; so that coming generations may not reproach the present with being too imbecile to preserve the priceless legacy bequeathed by our fathers, so as to transmit it unimpaired to future times.

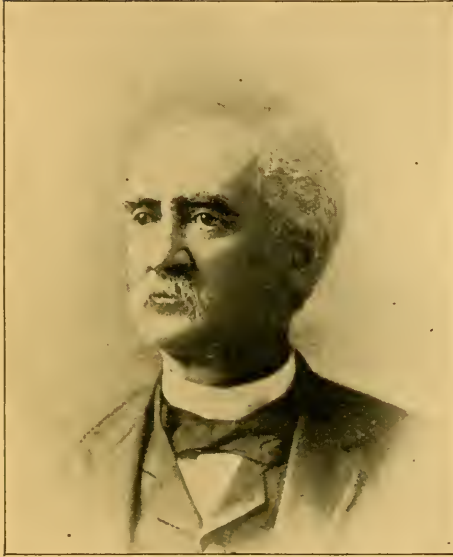
It is a source of State pride for Pennsylvania that in the three most important and critical periods in the history of the republic—two in peace and one in war—one of her citizens in each case occupied the speaker's chair of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. Frederick A. Muhlenberg was speaker of the First Congress, after the adoption of the constitution, Samuel J. Randall was speaker when the Presidential election was decided by one vote in the Electoral College. After Congress had created by law, a judicial tribunal specially to hear and decide all controverted questions relative thereto, a factious minority attempted by dilatory motions, under the rules of the House, to prevent a declaration of the result of the election within the time prescribed by the constitution.

He put an end to all such revolutionary attempts, though made by members of his own political party, by promptly deciding that a law of Congress under the constitution was paramount to any rule of the House of Representatives. That ended all factious opposition, and the election of President and Vice-President was proclaimed, at the time and in the manner, provided by the constitution. But no Congress of the United States was ever confronted with questions, of national concern, more momentous and far-reaching than was the Congress that convened on the fourth of July, 1861.

Pennsylvania, while honoring the patriotic and self-sacrificing devotion of all the citizens of all the States in maintaining the union of our fathers, may be excused for her laudable pride in the fact that within her borders, on the spot consecrated a century before by William Penn in deeds of peace, the Declaration of Independence was first proclaimed, and there was framed the constitution of government under which we live. And doubly proud that at Gettysburg on her soil was fought and won, the great decisive battle for the perpetuity of the Union, which made it impossible thereafter to establish a hostile frontier across the continent, lined with frowning battlements and bristling cannon, entailing upon coming generations the countless woes of endless border conflicts. For if the people between the Gulf and the Lakes could not live together in peace as one nation they certainly could not as two.

CURTIN IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

BY HARRY WHITE.



HARRY WHITE.

American constitutions have hitherto employed the highest type of statesmanship in making them, and nothing indeed excites the wonder of the educated foreigner so much as their wisdom and stability.

Mr. Bryce, the British Liberal, in his admirable book entitled "The American Common-

wealth," most aptly describes the inquisitive pride of the American citizen, who, when meeting the foreign visitor, as soon as politeness allows, and sometimes indeed sooner, bluntly obtrudes the question, "What do you think of our institutions?" The question never fails to bring a flattering answer from an intelligent and fair-minded foreigner.

The self-satisfied and sedate European, living among the traditions of centuries, takes it for granted the

visitor to *his* country feels he treads on sacred ground and asks no questions and expects no criticisms. The American, however, always patriotic with a stranger, wants to hear compliments to his country. The difference is natural and philosophical. The remarkable growth of this country in the last thirty years, while exciting the continual pride of the American, attracts as well the wonder of mankind. This growing confidence of the inquisitive Yankee, as Charles Dickens calls him, in the institutions of his country, is encouraged by such remarks as Sir Henry Sumner Maine, late Professor of Law at Cambridge, England, made and published in the *London Quarterly*, when he said: "The Constitution of the United States of America is the most important political instrument of modern times. The country whose destinies it controls and directs has this special characteristic, that all the territories into which its already teeming population overflows, are so placed that political institutions of the same type can be established in every part of them." It is also frankly admitted by the same distinguished authority, that while the British Constitution has been insensibly changing itself into a popular government, surrounded on all sides by difficulties, the American Constitution has employed several expedients by which these difficulties may be altogether overcome or at least greatly mitigated.

The popular character of our institutions are generally understood abroad because it is seen the people make the laws for their own government through their representatives. But the importance and controlling power of our written constitutions are confusing to the average educated foreigner. They see the courts repeatedly and often annul and destroy an act of the Legislative

and Executive Departments, which has been enacted with all the formalities of law, because it violates the constitution. The omnipotence of Parliament cannot be defied by any written constitution in the old world. "My lord," Coke says, "the power and jurisdiction of Parliament is so transcendent and absolute that it cannot be confined either for causes or persons within any bounds." And it is a phrase accepted by all English lawyers "that Parliament can do everything except making a woman a man or a man a woman." Now, however, since the new woman has appeared, it may not be safely asserted that the omnipotence of Parliament cannot even change the sexes. In America the only omnipotent written document recognized is the constitution the people themselves have ordained. Constitutions that govern the American States as the highest law have a history peculiarly their own. When the experiment of a republic was begun in the wilds of America, no bow of promise spanned the sky. Those along the Mediterranean had lived their day and left little but classic lore to illustrate their history. Confusion and cruelty were the real legacies from the French adventure, and the ephemeral existence of the South American conceptions was but a meteor flash to lead those patriotic men who wanted here to frame a constitutional "government of the people, by the people, and for the people, that should not perish from the face of the earth."

Without a written constitution, the experience of a century demonstrates, the American Republic would have gone glimmering long since through the things that were. This may seem an axiomatic utterance, but should nevertheless be ever present to the merest tyro in American politics.

When James Wilson, a delegate from Pennsylvania to the Constitutional Convention of 1787, said, "By adopting this constitution we shall become a nation; we are not now one. We shall form a national character; we are now dependent on others," he spoke as a political philosopher and his prophecies and predictions, to be found in Elliott's Debates, Vol. II, page 526, if not already, are now being fulfilled. It was the thoughtful learning of Madison and Franklin, and Hamilton and Wilson, and their peerless associates, with the wonderful influence of Washington, made constitutional government here possible; without the great patient, forbearing, reasoning minds in the convention such a constitution would never have been possible.

With the National Constitution, which Fisher Ames said, in the Massachusetts convention, "considered merely as a literary performance is an honor to our country," before them, all the States therefore when forming and amending their constitutions have considered that the highest statesmanship was required for the purpose. They looked for ability, patriotism and experience among their people for such a great work. With this brief historical reference to the great office of making constitutions for American States, and the pre-eminent fitness and ability required, the presence of Andrew G. Curtin in the Fourth Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania was natural and to be expected. For years in his earlier life he had been an active and successful jury lawyer in his native and surrounding counties in the central part of the State, which had supplied Huston and Burnside and Woodward and other eminent jurists to the judicial history of Pennsylvania. He had been Secretary of the Commonwealth and

ex-officio Superintendent of Common Schools under Governor Pollock, from 1855 to 1858, then Governor from 1861 to 1867, a most historic period; then followed his creditable service as Minister to Russia. His personal and official experience then made him familiar with the condition of the people and the requirements of a written constitution. Pennsylvania, although one of the original thirteen States, with the halo of Independence Hall about her, and alive to the progress and necessities of the times, has always been cautious and conservative. In the one hundred and twenty years since the adoption of the Declaration of Independence only four constitutional conventions have been held in her borders. The one in 1776, while composed of eminent citizens, was somewhat tentative in its provisions, as our system was then in a chrysalis state. The Convention of 1790, held after our National Constitution was adopted, being more pronounced in its results, has been, really, the basis of our two subsequent constitutions in its fundamental principles, and had in its membership our then most experienced and patriotic citizens. The Convention of 1838, the third in our history, was composed of many able and learned men with much practical business capacity. The "great commoner," Thaddeus Stevens, was there as a leader of the most experienced political thought of the time. That convention made radical changes, and the constitution it framed, though subsequently, in many particulars, specially amended, supplied a reasonably safe government for near forty years, during a period when the population of the commonwealth increased from a million and three-quarters, when it was adopted, to four millions when the Fourth Constitutional Convention met

and made what is known as the Constitution of 1874. This, as our present constitution, is a study in itself. While it has some errors, it is submitted, it is the most complete of all the American constitutions. The convention that framed it was the outgrowth of a public sentiment. While the earlier constitutions, or the debates of the conventions forming them disclose, were cautious of constitutional restrictions on the legislative power, the pendulum of public opinion in 1872, however, swung in a different direction. The people and business interests asked to be protected from the disturbing ills of special and local legislation. The unlimited power to pardon by the Governor had brought torment and scandal to the Executive Department. The judicial system did not meet the growing necessities of different localities. The purity of the ballot-box was often flagrantly invaded and the growth of corporate power was exciting discontent. These and kindred questions made a popular demand for the ablest, best and purest thought of the State, familiar with the necessities of the hour, to meet in convention and formulate in detail such a constitution as would protect the people from the incautious legislation of their own representatives and rescue the good name of the commonwealth from the scandal of the time. The personnel of this body cannot pass here in review. The purpose of this article will not allow such detail.

It is due, however, to the history of constitutional conventions to pause a moment here to remark that no abler or more competent convention, for the special duties required, ever sat in any of our States to formulate a constitution. The convention that met in Philadelphia in 1787, over which George Washington presided,

to form the National Constitution, was illumined and led by the great men of the time, who with original thought and patriotic purpose gave us the constitution the world to-day admires. While such historic names were not in the Pennsylvania Convention of 1872-73, yet it brought to its assemblage industry, learning, patriotism, legislative experience, judicial deliberation and fairness with business thought and integrity for its important work.

There were in it three survivors of the Constitutional Convention of 1838—William M. Meredith, William Darlington and S. A. Purviance—all eminent lawyers.

Many of its members had held high place in State and nation. Meredith, who had been Secretary of the Treasury, and peerless in his profession, and long time Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, was there from Philadelphia, and with him were Biddle, the nestor of the bar, and Henry C. Carey, whose economic thoughts were textbooks in many schools and languages, and Cassidy, and Cuyler and Gowen, with other fitting representatives of the bar and business of that great city. Black and Woodward had both been Chief Justices; while Black had also been Attorney-General of the United States; MacVeagh subsequently became such. And Dimmock and Cassidy and Lear and Palmer, all afterward became Attorneys-General of Pennsylvania. Green and Clark were soon called to adorn the Supreme bench of the State; while Baer, of Somerset; Church, of Crawford; Corbett, of Clarion; Ewing and White, of Allegheny; Gibson, of York; Hemphill, of Chester; Landis, of Blair; McClean, of Adams; Metzgar, of Lycoming; Patterson, of Lancaster, and Stewart, of Franklin, have each subsequently dignified the bench of their respective districts; and Hanna has been elected again and again

as President Judge of the Orphans' Court of Philadelphia, and Dallas now sits on the Circuit bench of the United States Court. Buckalew, with clear head and pure purpose, had much legislative experience in Pennsylvania and the United States Senate; and Walker, of Erie; Niles, of Tioga; Purman, of Greene; Mann, of Potter, with thirty others with them, had been trained in practical legislation by long and useful service in the different branches of the Legislature. Armstrong, and Lawrence, and Broomall, and McCulloch, and S. A. Purviance had each been members of the Congress of the United States. Bigler, who came in to fill a vacancy, had been Governor and United States Senator. To these indeed could be added the names of the other representatives of the business thought and necessities of the different interests and localities of the commonwealth, who brought their contribution of practical service to the important work. It was a rare assemblage of one hundred and thirty-three citizens of the commonwealth, all animated by high and patriotic purpose. But fifty-two of them now survive.

In such a membership Curtin soon took a conspicuous position. Although long in public life, this was his first appearance in any legislative body. He had always been a Whig and a Republican in politics, yet he came into the convention elected as a delegate-at-large on the Democratic State ticket. As a result of some political complications of the time, by a coincidence, ex-Governor Bigler, on the regular Democratic State ticket as a delegate-at-large, withdrew so that ex-Governor Curtin, a Republican successor on his return from Russia, could be nominated in his stead. There were in the convention many of Curtin's old devoted Republican friends, and

while mere partisanship there was rarely regarded, yet in the earlier days of the convention there was a period of estrangement between him and his old friendships which soon disappeared. His old associates thought that he had been too long a Republican to make a *real* Democrat, but that social attraction and personal magnetism he always possessed soon drew his old friendships about him, and it was not long till he became personally the most popular man in the convention.

Many a time and oft the tedious hour of business routine or detail debate was enlivened by the witty remark, pungent story or pathetic reminiscence of Curtin, either to a coterie of friends in the committee room or on the floor of the convention.

By common consent, as a tribute to his membership of the Convention of 1838, his eminence as a citizen and ability as a lawyer, William M. Meredith was unanimously elected president of the convention. He had been the Attorney-General all through Curtin's administration, was a decided Republican and elected as such as a delegate-at-large. With Curtin on the floor, elected as a Democrat, and his late Attorney-General, are presentative Republican, president of the convention, with the power to appoint the chairmen of the committees that would frame and lead the important work of the body, there was an unexpressed wonder, what Mr. Meredith would do with his former executive chief. There being a decided Republican majority, elected by the ordinarily recognized party machinery, the chairmanship of all the important committees, by parliamentary usage, belonged to the majority members. When the committees were announced, Curtin was the chairman "on the Executive Department." While the mere partisan would have

criticised this selection and claimed the honor for one of the *majority*, yet not a voice of disapproval came from a delegate. Some needed reforms in the Executive Department required experience, thoughtful care, ability and personal popularity on the floor to lead in their adoption. The just sense of the convention looked at once to him, who had been the Governor in the most trying period of the country, as the man for the place and the hour.

Indeed, in a body whose members were elected on party lines, in a time of great excitement, stimulated by much of the bitterness of the war so fresh in the recollection of all the people, there was little, if any, mere partisan feeling among the delegates in the Constitutional Convention of 1872-73. And when Curtin was made chairman of one of the most important committees all the delegates approved the selection.

While the ex-Governor was personally and socially one of the most popular men of the convention, yet he soon became one of its active working members. The duties of the governor of a great State had necessarily withdrawn his mind from that studential attention to the *detail* work of framing sections and provisions, either in statutes or constitutions.

Although the convention met for organization November 12, 1872, yet the real work did not begin till after the holidays in January, 1873; and February 21, 1873, the chairman on the Executive Department submitted the completed report of his committee. In it were many radical changes to meet required reforms. That few changes were made by the convention on this important article, as originally reported, attests the care with which it was prepared. While it would be tedious

to pause for the discussion, in detail, of this report, yet the more material practical changes created were the extension of the executive term to four years and making an incumbent ineligible to immediately succeed himself; the creation of a lieutenant governor to avoid threatened confusion in the succession in case of vacancy in the executive office, and also to establish the principle that the Senate is a continuous body; the creation of a Board of Pardons, thus relieving the governor of that hitherto prolific source of torment and scandal, and the authority to veto special items in appropriation bills. While other material provisions regulating the Executive Department were embraced in the article reported, they were all to meet necessities experience had developed, and were effectively supported by Governor Curtin as the chairman and leader of the committee. The thinking people of the commonwealth to-day approve the changes made and regard them as reforms time had required. But the Governor did not confine his thoughtful care alone to the preparation and discussion of the report of his committee. As the published debates develop, he was heard often in persuasive voice in many of the important discussions of the body. Among the people and soldiers of the commonwealth Curtin is known and will pass down in the traditions of the future as "Pennsylvania's War Governor." As a member of the convention he never forgot the friendship and love he formed for the men who wore the blue, when, from time to time, under the law as the Governor of the Commonwealth, he presented the flags to the different regiments as they went to the front. Of all the members of the convention, he was the first to recall that a Decoration Day was approaching during the sittings of the body,

and instantly wrote and presented a suitable resolution for the occasion.

When the article on legislation, which contains many restrictions on the power of the Legislature to make appropriations, was being discussed, it was conceived the restrictions might embarrass appropriations for the relief of the soldiers' widows and orphans. The Governor promptly recalled the pledge he gave from time to time with dramatic utterance for Pennsylvania as he presented the flags to the different regiments as they went to the field, "that those who fell in its defence would not be forgotten, but the commonwealth would care for the widow and the orphan as the wards of the State." He hence prepared and submitted a section to relieve the doubt: "The Legislature may make appropriations of money to institutions where the widows of soldiers are supported or assisted, or where the orphans of soldiers are maintained and educated." And it became part of the constitution. While an exciting discussion resulted, the objection being made that this might open the door to such appropriations indefinitely, the Governor, with earnest yet sincere manner, came to the support with the reply:

"Well, I say, open the door as wide as you can open it, and let it stand open. I would put the orphan of a dead man who died for my country anywhere that I could have him supported rather than let him be a vagabond on the streets."

This sentiment was delivered with such emphatic and eloquent utterance that the sedate and dignified delegates broke forth in earnest applause. Curtin never forgot the debt of gratitude the country owes the men who carried the flag, and an inscription over his grave in his

native mountain home, "Here lies the soldiers' friend," would be a just and honest tribute to a devoted and consistent sentiment of his life.

In the convention Curtin more than once grew restive and impatient at the constitutional restraints to be imposed upon the Legislature. He was trained in the old school and inherited an implicit trust in the people and their fitness to select the proper representatives who could be defeated and rebuked, if faithless to their constituents. In this connection, it may be observed, that the student of the history of our constitutions will discover a marked contrast between the debates and efforts about the legislative department of the earlier conventions and the more recent ones. In the former, any attempt to restrict the legislative power was resented with jealous care of popular rights and as an invasion of the people's privileges, while in the latter the effort has been to protect the people from their own representatives by careful restraints. While Curtin admitted the want of confidence in the legislative department had called the convention into existence, yet he thought the true remedy was the increase of members. In this he was supported by Mr. Meredith, who said to the writer, during the discussion, that the true remedy would be an increase of the lower branch to, at least, six hundred members. And, indeed, the membership of the lower House of the Legislature gave the convention hours, days and weeks of debate. On motion of Judge Woodward it was referred to a special committee of nine—Woodward, MacVeagh, J. Price Wetherill, Bowman, Harry White, Hall, Buckalew, Turrell and D. N. White. The matter was committed, by the balance of the committee, to Mr. Buckalew and Mr. Harry White, who formulated a plan which was

accepted by the committee and reported to the convention. This plan was to allow a representative to each county, then secure a ratio for the balance by dividing the whole population of the State by one hundred and fifty, after each decennial census of the United States. This would have secured, under the first apportionment, one hundred and fifty members, Governor Curtin, however, following his desire for the largest membership and also that his county of Centre should have an additional member, moved to strike out the division of one hundred and fifty and insert two hundred. This motion prevailed and fixed the rule for a ratio. By a coincidence of arithmetic this increased the membership by the same number the division was increased. The divisor of 150 gave 150 members, increased to 200 it gave 200 members. This increased number of the House of Representatives came, then, from Curtin's devotion to the idea for a more numerous membership to reform legislative abuses.

While this, by many, if not the majority of the convention, was not conceived to be the remedy, yet it must be admitted the limitations upon the Legislature, by abolishing, practically, local and special legislation, as the constitution now does, and allowing Legislation only of a general character, has not brought to the Legislature generally the strongest men of the State. It was hoped it would do this.

But the discussion of this question was more earnest perhaps than that of any other proposition before the convention. While the writer had the honor to be chairman of the Committee on Legislation, which framed the third article of the constitution that relates to the powers of the Legislature, and had charge of it through

the convention, we observed most closely all the debates about it. The late Judge Black was one of the most earnest advocates of strict limitations on legislative power, while Governor Curtin had more confidence in the Legislature, and hesitated about imposing so many restrictions. More than once Judge Black and he collided in debate on this question. One occasion of their earnest yet friendly antagonism on it entertained and amused the convention very much. It was a warm summer's day in June, 1873, and the debate had been rather tedious, when Judge Black assailed in vigorous manner nominating conventions and legislatures with some severe thrusts at Curtin's position. To this the Governor replied at length with Judge Black sitting in front of him as a careful auditor. Looking the Judge pleasantly in the face and in manner peculiar to Curtin, he said, among other things: "He is a lawyer and a great lawyer; and as a Pennsylvanian I am proud to acknowledge and admit that the leader of the American Bar is a Pennsylvanian. . . . But when a distinguished and learned lawyer has so much knowledge he is sometimes a little dangerous. There is too much in his head for the practical affairs of life. He grew up amid the frosty sons of thunder in Somerset County, and when he had grown to be a boy, a big boy, a great big boy, he was put on the bench too early in life. Ten years of experience in the practical affairs of humanity would have made him a stronger and a wiser man. He was separated from the body of the people, their business, their interests and pursuits; and all the time the great storehouse above his shoulders was getting fuller and fuller of knowledge, until he knew everything in the range of human knowledge, except what is practical

and useful. I say this with all respect to my learned friend and with the kindest feeling, as you have no warmer friend than I in Pennsylvania." While Judge Black was always able to take care of himself and all the delegates admired, respected and liked him, yet the contest, springing up so suddenly and yet so good-naturedly, was an episode in the proceedings amusing to all. When the convention adjourned that day Judge Black came to the seat of the writer, and with that friendship he had always shown, said: "That speech of Curtin annoyed me very much, for if there is one thing above another I have always possessed and been proud of it is what the world calls, in common parlance, strong horse, common sense." With the assurance that the piquancy of the little passage-at-arms and the high respect all the delegates had for both of them, the incident passed away with no unpleasant memories behind.

It would be tedious, however, to follow the Governor in detail in all the distinguished prominence he obtained in that historical convention. He was a conspicuous character in its membership, both in debate and much detail work, and left the impress of his labor on the constitution as it was finally adopted and exists to-day. Throughout his subsequent career he spoke with satisfaction and pleasure of his experience and associations there.

Annually, for several years, the surviving members met in social reunion at different places in the State to recall old memories and pay proper respect to those of their colleagues who were so frequently paying the great debt of nature. Governor Curtin, during his life, was always there. The last meeting was several years ago in Philadelphia. After an agreeable and sprightly

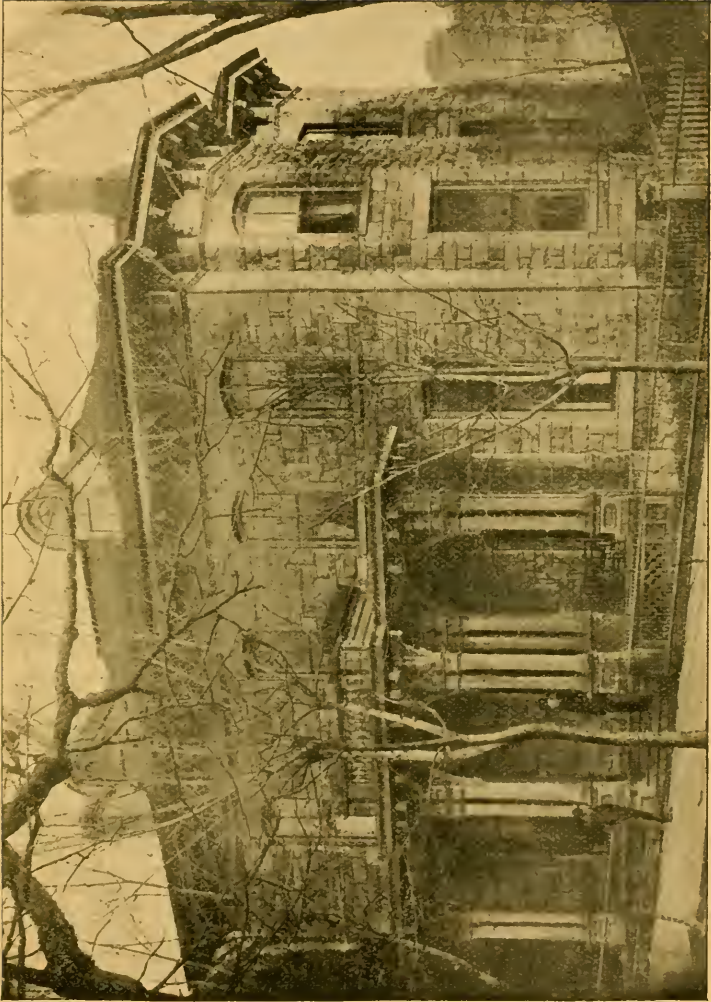
interchange of views, those in attendance had gathered around the dining table and were about to be seated when the Governor observingly said, "Are you superstitious, gentlemen; I see there are but thirteen of us here;" recalling that old superstition that thirteen sitting down to a table one of the number would be dead before a year passed. Some thoughtless reply was made and the incident passed without thought until it was recalled to the mind of all present by the announcement of the sudden death, some nine months after, of the late Hon. J. Price Wetherill, one of the thirteen.

When later on the few survivors of that convention meet to take a retrospect of their work and its results on the commonwealth all of them tried well to serve, the one absent member that all respected highly and loved so much will be Andrew G. Curtin.

CURTIN AND THE STATE FLAGS.

At Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, are collected all the flags that were carried by the different regiments that went from the State in the War of the Rebellion, except such as were destroyed by the enemy. Arranged as they are in the capital building they make a most entertaining museum in their battle-scarred condition. It will be observed that each Pennsylvania regiment carried two flags, one given by the general government when the regiment was organized and mustered in, the other by the Governor of the State, on which was also the State coat of arms. After Sumter was fired on and Mr. Lincoln called for troops, the survivors, in Pennsylvania, of the Society of the Cincinnati sent to the Governor \$500 to be used in arming and equipping the volunteer regiments from the State.

Governor Curtin, by special message, submitted the matter to the Legislature. May 16, 1861, it was provided by joint resolution that the Governor should ascertain how the several regiments, raised in Pennsylvania during the war of the Revolution, the War of 1812 and the Mexican War were numbered, among what divisions distributed and where they severally distinguished themselves in action. That having ascertained this he shall procure regimental standards, to be inscribed with the numbers respectively, in which shall be painted the arms of the commonwealth, and the actions in which such regiments distinguished themselves. **The**



CURTIN'S HOME, BELLEFONTE.

flags so inscribed to be delivered to the regiments then in the field or forming, bearing the regimental numbers corresponding to the Pennsylvania regiments in former wars. Authority was also given him to procure flags for all the regiments from the State beyond the number in former wars, on which should also be placed the commonwealth's coat-of-arms. These flags to be presented by the Governor to the different regiments. All these flags to be returned when the Rebellion was ended, to be further inscribed as the valor and service of each regiment deserved, and to be carefully preserved by the State to be delivered to future regiments as the military necessities of the country may require Pennsylvania to raise.

The first ceremony of flag presentation under this authority took place on the tenth of September, 1861, at Tennallytown, Maryland. What became the Army of the Potomac was then located there. The occasion attracted the attention of the whole army. President Lincoln was there with Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War. General McClellan, then commanding the army, with Staff General Butler and many other prominent soldiers, was present. When proper disposition was made of the troops, so that all could hear, Governor Curtin, with the eyes of the army upon him, formally handed to the commander of each regiment the appropriate colors. His eloquent and feeling words were always remembered by the soldiers who heard him. In the course of his speech he said :

“The remnant of the descendants of the heroes and sages of the Revolution in the Keystone State, known as the Cincinnati Society, presented me with a sum of money to arm and equip the volunteers of Pennsylvania, who might go into the public service in the present

exigency. I referred the subject to the Legislature. They instructed me to make these flags and pay for them with the money of the Cincinnati Society. I have placed in the centre of the azure field the coat-of-arms of your great and glorious State and around it a bright galaxy of stars. I give these flags to you to-day and I know you will carry them wherever you appear in honor and that the credit of your State will never suffer at your hands.

* * * * *

“God is for the truth and the right. Stand by your colors my friends, this day delivered to you, and the right will prevail. I present to you, to-day, as the representative of the people of Pennsylvania, these beautiful colors. I place in your hands the honor of your State. Thousands of your fellow-citizens at home look to you to vindicate the honor of your great State. If you fail, hearts and homes will be made desolate. If you succeed, thousands of Pennsylvanians will rejoice over your success and on your return you will be hailed as the heroes who have gone forth to battle for the right. They follow you with their prayers. They look to you to vindicate a great government, to sustain legitimate power and to crush out rebellion. Thousands of your friends in Pennsylvania know of these flags to-day and I am sure that I am authorized to say their blessing is upon you. May the God of battles, in His wisdom, protect your lives, and may right, truth and justice prevail!”

Similar ceremonies were had as the calls for soldiers were repeated and regiment after regiment went to the front.

When the war was over and the Legislature had assembled in 1866, Governor Curtin took initiatory steps to

secure the return of the flags in formal and appropriate manner. He desired the co-operation of the soldiers of the State and made it an eventful and impressive occasion. For this purpose he called together, for consultation, the soldier members of the Legislature, and they organized themselves into a committee for the purpose and selected General Harry White, then Senator from the Indiana District, as their chairman, with authority to increase the committee by appointing representative soldiers from different parts of the commonwealth as additional members. On this committee General White appointed the most prominent and well-known soldiers of the State, and to them was entrusted the management and control of the entire ceremony. The Legislature appropriated five thousand dollars and the Councils of Philadelphia an additional amount to defray necessary expenses.

The committee met first on the twelfth of May, 1866, in the Council Chamber in the old City Hall, Philadelphia, with Governor Curtin and Morton McMichael, then Mayor of Philadelphia, present. At the meeting, the fourth of July, 1866, was designated as the time and Independence Square, Philadelphia, as the place for the formal return of the flags to the State.

Provision was made for an assemblage of the soldiers from Pennsylvania—indeed, for soldiers from all over the country—to come and be part of this historic event.

Major General Hancock was given and accepted command of all the soldiers who were and did participate in the great parade, with Major Generals Negley, Robert Patterson, S. W. Crawford, John W. Geary and D. McM. Gregg and Brigadier Generals Charles T. Campbell and John R. Brooke, commanding the different divisions of the magnificent pageant.

General Grant with staff was there, and many distinguished soldiers as invited guests. Major-General Meade, Pennsylvania's most prominent soldier, was selected to present the flags with appropriate speech, and General White to call the assembly together at the end of the parade, with brief explanation of the object of the ceremony in Independence Square. This was a historic day in Philadelphia. The streets in daylight were decorated with every patriotic device, and at night there was a general illumination in honor of the great occasion. When the parade was completed by an extended line of march to Independence Square, where the old color-bearers carrying the tattered flags brought and held them around the platform, erected near the centre of the square for the purpose, and in the presence of the thousands assembled, General Harry White came to the front and inaugurated the ceremony of the flag-return in the following manner :

“This assembly will now come to order.

Soldiers, Ladies and Gentlemen: You have come this day to this place, under the shadow of immortal memories, to witness and aid to perform the last scene of the long series of historic actions in which Pennsylvania citizens bore a part so conspicuous, so eminent, so heroic. Those war-worn banners to-day return to the government of this great commonwealth. [Applause.] Through four years of fierce war's changing fortunes, faithful, brave men bore them, one by one, from our State. They went out against the armed hosts of treason and rebellion, proudly, defiantly; with flaming folds symbolizing the nation's unity and integrity. They come back tattered, torn in shreds, with immortal honors circling about them. These flags have been gathered up from the storm of battle. There they are. They speak most eloquent stories. [Applause.] Our children's children may read in them the lesson of a most anxious, yet most glorious time. [Applause.] Faded, shot-torn, cannon-scorched, they blaze in imperishable renown. They are again in the hands of the heroes, whose spirits they so often inspired in the rapture of strife and the fire of battle.

The scarred, war-worn veterans, who have been "bound up with victorious wreaths," now hold them. We now propose that here at this great anniversary, in the presence of authority, in the presence of these intelligent, patriotic people, in the presence of the sacred memories of Independence Hall, that one of Pennsylvania's greatest soldiers, one whom we all delight to honor shall, with formal ceremony, in behalf of the soldiers who carried and followed them, present these little less than holy relics to the Chief Executive, who, with clear head and patriotic heart through years of trial, of suffering and of war, so acceptably governed the commonwealth, to be by him placed among the archives of honor. [Applause.] When thus placed these splintered staves, these familiar flags, weather-beaten and blood-baptized, will be "sacred shrines—shrines to no creed or sect confined," around which will continually cluster the venerated memories of the brave dead, at which the heroic living may always render acceptable offering. We now and here propose no idle ceremony.

Citizens of Pennsylvania, soldiers of the nation! I congratulate you that you celebrate this great event. [Applause.] Let us all rejoice—let the whole land be glad in its spring-like beauty, for it rests in the pure light of a conquered peace.

The Rev. Dr. Brainerd then offered most fervent prayer and thanksgiving for the return of peace and a restored Union.

Major-General Meade then, taking one of the flags, presented it with the rest to Governor Curtin, in a brief but eloquent and patriot address.

Governor Curtin then taking the flag accepted them all with the following speech :

General and Soldiers of Pennsylvania: Soon after the commencement of the late rebellion the Cincinnati Society of Pennsylvania presented to the Governor of the State a sum of money, which they asked to be used in the equipment of volunteers. The sum was too small to be of material service in that respect, and the subject having been presented to the Legislature, an act was passed directing the governor to use the money, and whatever additional sums were necessary, to procure flags to be carried by Pennsylvania regiments during the war; and with a wise provision that the flags should be returned to the State at the close of their service, with proper inscriptions, to be made archives of the commonwealth.

The ceremony of the return of these flags was delayed until all

the regiments in the service from Pennsylvania had been mustered out, and to-day, surrounded by your fellow-citizens, and in the presence of high officials of the national government, of governors and officials of sister States, of distinguished soldiers of other States, and of the army and navy of the United States, and the representatives of the government of this commonwealth, more than two hundred of these emblems of our country's nationality, all of which have waved amid the rapture of strife—all of which have been carried by Pennsylvanians—are returned untarnished. In their azure fields the arms of Pennsylvania have been emblazoned, and her motto, "Virtue, Liberty and Independence," has been written in letters of fire, with pens of steel, by the gallant men before us, and their comrades, living and dead, upon every battlefield of the war. The record is glorious in memories of the past and in hopes of the future.

If I consult my own feelings, I would receive these flags in silence, for this occasion is its own most eloquent orator. My words cannot add to its sublimity. Human lips cannot express such lessons of patriotism, of sacrifice and heroism as these sacred relics sublimely attest. The man is to be pitied who claims to be a citizen of our America, especially of Pennsylvania, who has witnessed these ceremonies without profound emotion alike of sorrow and exultation—sorrow for the dead who died for liberty, exultation in recalling the blessings of God, the laws vindicated and enforced by the suppression and punishment of treason, the government protected and maintained until the last armed rebel was beaten down, and the redeemed republic emerged from the smoke of battle.

It might be better to accept the momentous lessons taught by these returned standards without a word. In what adequate language can we address you, soldiers of the republic, who live to take part in this ceremony. We have no words to convey the holy sentiment of veneration and of reverence for the heroic dead that wells up from every heart in your presence.

To the men who carried the steel, the musket and the sabre—to the private soldier, to the unknown dead, the demigods of the war—we this day seek in vain to express all our gratitude. If there be men more distinguished than others, more entitled to our highest veneration, it is the private soldier of the republic. If we follow him through all the sufferings and privations of the service, his long, weary marches, his perils on the outposts, his wounds and sickness, even in the article of death, we trace him back to that sentiment of devotion to his country that led him to separate from home and its ties, and to offer even his life a sacrifice to the government his fathers gave him and his children.

As the official representative of the commonwealth, I can not take back the remnants of the colors she committed to your keeping without attempting to gather in my arms the full measure of her overflowing gratitude and lay it at your feet. I therefore present you with the thanks of your cherished mother, this ancient and goodly Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the great glory you have given to her history. She fully realizes, and while public virtue remains, she will never cease to realize that she could better afford to lose the sources of her natural wealth, her rich fertile valleys, her great cities, her exhaustless minerals, than to lose from her archives a single one of these torn, faded, precious, consecrated flags of battle and its history, and of the brave men who suffered and fought around them. A commonwealth may exist without cherishing her material wealth, but no commonwealth can or should worthily exist which does not cherish, as the joy of its life, the heroic valor of its children.

In the name of Pennsylvania I gave you these standards, fresh and whole, and asked you, in all trials, to maintain your loyalty and defend them, and to-day you bring them back to me, torn with rebel shots, sad with the gloom of some reverses, bright with the light of many triumphs, but beyond all, saved by your courage from dishonor, reddened by the blood of your dead brothers, borne over the ridges of a hundred battles, and planted, at last, upon the summits of victory. Surely State never had nobler children, nor received at their hands more precious gifts. What heroism, excelling the fables of romance; leading forlorn hopes; charging into the "imminent deadly breach;" "riding into the jaws of death till all the world wondered." What sufferings of pain and hunger, and outrage, and death; what ardent love of country; what purest love of home; what tender messages to mother, wife, children and betrothed maiden; what last prayers to God, do these old and tattered flags suggest and unfold.

The State will guard them reverently and lovingly until, in the fullness of time, some genius will arise to marshal their legends into the attractive order of history, or weave them into the immortal beauty of poetry, and then at last will be found fit expression for the part Pennsylvania has acted in the bloody drama. It will then be remembered that our State was represented at Fort Sumter, when traitors first fired upon the flag of the Union, and that the volunteers of our State first reached the national capital, and were at Appomattox Court House, where traitors fired their last volley; and in all the terrible intermediate struggles in every rebellious State, in every important battle on land and water, where treason was to

be confronted and rebellion to be conquered, the soldiers and sailors of Pennsylvania were to be found confronting the one and conquering the other—and that her people never faltered in their fidelity to their distressed government.

It was in due historic fitness, therefore, that the wicked struggle to destroy the Union should culminate upon our soil, its topmost wave bedash our capital, and its decisive defeat be suffered here, and accordingly, from Gettysburg the rebellion staggered backward to its grave. Alas, how many other graves it filled before it filled its own. How many brave and familiar faces we miss to-day, who helped to bear these colors to the front, and on whose graves are growing the wild-flowers of the Southern land. Our words can no longer reach them nor our gratitude serve them; but we thank heaven that those they loved better than life are with us; that the widow of the war, and the orphan children of the soldiers are within reach of our cherishing care. We must never forget that every soldier of Pennsylvania, who died that the nation might live thereby, entitled his widow to be kept from want, and his fatherless children to find a father in the commonwealth.

May the flags which we fold up so tenderly and with such proud recollections, never be unfurled again, at least in such a war; and may all mankind, beholding the surpassing power of this free government, abandon forever the thought of its destruction! Let us remember, too, that at Gettysburg the blood of the people of eighteen loyal States—rich, precious blood—mingling together, sank into the soil of Pennsylvania, and by that red covenant are we pledged for all time to union, to liberty, to nationality, to fraternity, to "peace on earth and good will toward men." Now that the war is over we give peace to those who gave us war. And in the universal freedom purchased at so large a cost of blood and treasure, we give true justice to all men. Under the benediction of truce, even justice to all, and inviting them to obedience to the law, to industry and virtue, we offer them the glories of the future, and the sacred blessings of freedom for them and their children. We ask them to forget their malice and hate, and the counsels of the insane and wicked men who first led them to strike at the heart of their country, and to return to a participation in the rich rewards in store for this, the freest and most powerful nation on earth.

But for you and your comrades, rebellion would have become revolution and the enemies of freedom and united nationality would have achieved their infamous purpose. Under God we triumphed. The right has been maintained. And to you, in the name of all the people of this great commonwealth, I tender thanks, warm, deep,

heartfelt thanks. May your lives be spared long to enjoy the government you saved, to illustrate your country's grandeur, and to enjoy the priceless blessings which must follow from the results of your courage, fidelity and patriotism!

The State of Pennsylvania, during all your services, has not been unmindful of you. You were followed to the battlefields by the benedictions and prayers of the good, and benevolent people carried to you the contributions of the patriotic and generous at home. Never at any time during the war did this constant benevolence shrink, and always good, Christian men and women were found willing to endure privation and suffering to reach you on the field and in the hospital. So far as it was possible, the State always made ample provision for the removal of the bodies of the slain for Christian interment amid their kindred and friends. When it was practicable, the sick and wounded were removed to enjoy the tender watching and care of their friends at home.

And as the crowning glory of this great commonwealth she has gathered together the helpless and destitute orphans of her dead soldiers and adopted them as the children of the commonwealth. The Legislature of Pennsylvania, moved by justice and Christian charity, for three years has made munificent appropriations of the public money to place within the care of the State the homeless little ones of your dead comrades. They are to be brought up as the glory and honor of the State, a monument that Pennsylvania raises to the memory of the slain, more enduring than brass and marble, and in harmony with the Christian teachings of her people. Here are twelve hundred of these little ones before you to-day, the children of comrades left upon the field of battle, bright jewels in the crown of glory which encircles this great commonwealth, the strongest evidence of the fidelity and patriotism of her people. Let this work be so now engrafted upon the public policy of the State that it shall endure until the last orphan of the Pennsylvania soldier shall be trained, nurtured and educated.

This is a hallowed place—this is a hallowed day. Here and now in the name of Pennsylvania, I accept these colors fitly, for we are assembled upon the birthday, in the birthplace of American liberty.

We are forced to contemplate the wondrous march of this people to empire—colonization—the revolution—the declaration of independence—the constitution—the rebellion, its overthrow—and the purification of our government—and the change of our organic laws by the lesson of discord—and our hopes for the future, following each other in logical sequence, and the duty and responsibility of this labor for mankind is devolved, by the grace of God and

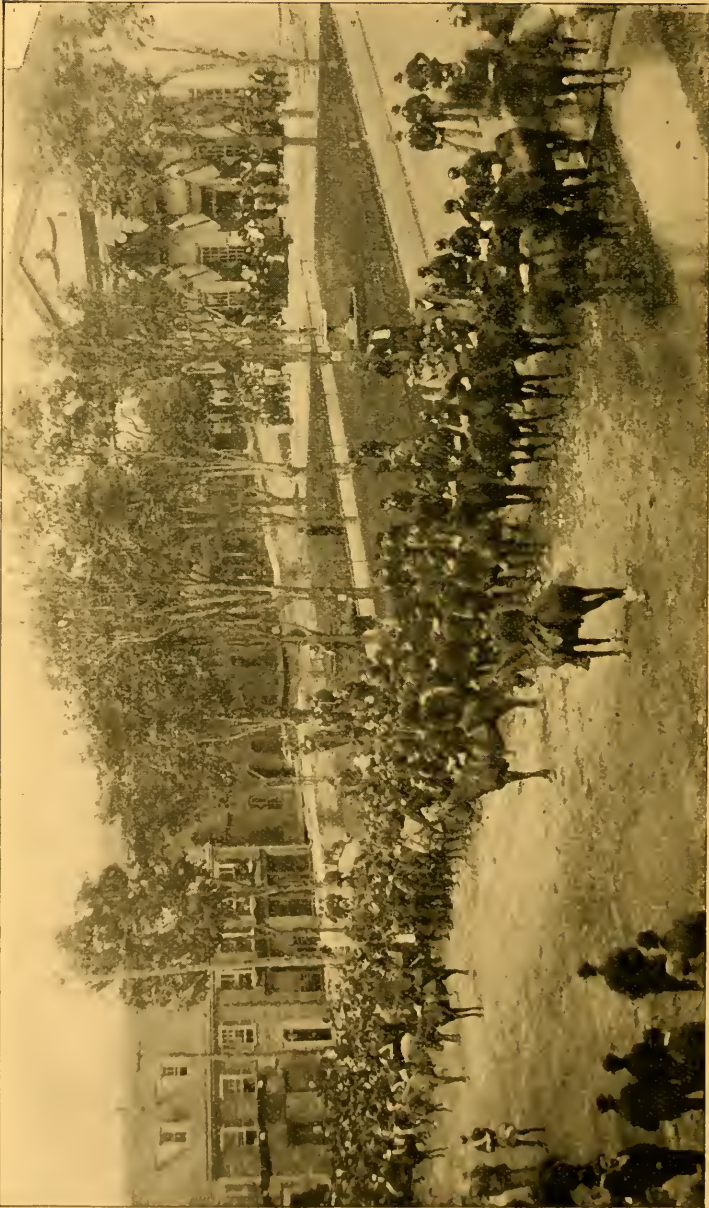
the hearts and arms of our soldiers, upon the loyal people of this land.

In the presence of these mute symbols of living soldiers [pointing to the flags], of yonder touching memorials of our dead soldiers [pointing to the children], in fealty to the blood poured out like water; in remembrance of the sorrows yet to be assuaged, and the burdens yet to be borne, the graves yet to be numbered, and the horrors yet to be forgotten; in loyalty to our State, to our country, to our fellow-men everywhere, and to God, let us rise to the height of our great privileges, and place the American government upon the enduring basis of justice and liberty. This is the great lesson of the war, and the very rock of political truth. "Whosoever falls upon it will be broken, and upon whomsoever it shall fall it will grind him to powder." Then our government will represent the result of American civilization, and then these old flags will glow with the light of their true meaning, and the valor of the soldiers of the republic will receive its just reward in rendering a memorable service to mankind, for then, in the words of our illustrious martyr, we will take care "That the government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

And now, having received these standards, he who addresses you has performed his last official act connected with the military service of the war, and his relations to you, so long, so intimate and so cordial, are severed. In this our last official interview, when the ties that bound us so closely for these eventful years just passed, and the relations so intimate, so cordial, are closing, he would be insensible to the constant fidelity, to the pleasant relations, to the forgiveness of error, to the ready and generous support, and the many, very many evidences of kindness and affection he has received from you and your comrades, if he failed to express to you his personal obligations and thanks. He recurs with gratification to the fact, that he did for the soldier what he could. He regrets that he could not have done more. But he will carry with him to his grave, and leave as a rich legacy to his children, the consciousness that you, at least, believed that he did what he could for his distressed country; and that after the experience of five eventful years, the soldiers of Pennsylvania deem him worthy of their confidence and respect.

And here, on this last occasion of the war, he returns his thanks to the great body of the people of Pennsylvania for their kindness and support, and to the thousands of benevolent women and men who were always ready to obey his calls to the succor and relief of their brave and gallant brethren in the field.

I have done. Farewell, brave men! May God bless you!



CURTIN'S FUNERAL.

CURTIN'S FUNERAL.

Andrew Gregg Curtin died at his residence in Bellefonte on Sunday morning, October 7, 1894. It was not unexpected to the community, as he had been seriously ill for some time, but the loss of the most beloved citizen none the less shocked every class and condition, and the sorrow was universal in the town and neighborhood in which he had lived his four score years more esteemed than any other citizen of his mountain home. His funeral occurred on Wednesday, October 10, and the Centre County Bar Association met at 10 o'clock to take action on the death of the oldest member of the bar. A number of prominent citizens of the State were present to attend the funeral, and they were invited to participate in the proceedings of the bar meeting. Judge Furst was called to the chair and A. S. Landis, of Blair, and Jerome B. Niles, of Tioga, were chosen as vice-presidents. After an address by Judge Furst expressing the universal sorrow that prevailed not only throughout the bar but the entire neighborhood, a committee was appointed to draft resolutions to be preserved as a minute on the records of the Bar Association. Ex-Governor James A. Beaver, chairman of the committee, reported the following to be placed on record as the expression of the Bellefonte bar on the death of their most beloved associate :

ANDREW GREGG CURTIN.

Andrew Gregg Curtin, son of Roland and Jane Gregg Curtin, was born in Centre County, April 23, 1815. His preliminary education

was pursued in Centre County, at Harrisburg and at the celebrated academy conducted by Dr. Kirkpatrick at Milton. He was a student in the office of W. W. Potter and of the Law School conducted by Hon. John Reed, at Carlisle, Pa. He was admitted to the bar of Centre County at the April term, 1837, and entered at once upon the active practice of his profession, and continued therein until his election as Governor of Pennsylvania in 1860.

He was appointed Secretary of the Commonwealth by Hon. James Pollock, who had been elected governor in 1854, and continued to fill that position during the entire administration of Governor Pollock. As Secretary of the Commonwealth, he was ex-officio Superintendent of Public Instruction, and gave much of thought and effort to the organization of our common school system. During his administration of this office the county superintendency and the system of normal schools were inaugurated and successfully prosecuted. They have continued to follow the plan of organization and development marked out by him from that time to the present.

He was elected Governor of the Commonwealth in 1860, and entered upon the duties of the office in January, 1861. He was re-elected governor in 1863, and his administration continued until January, 1867, covering six of the most eventful years of the history of the commonwealth. His personality and his administration were alike unique. Great opportunities were presented to him, and it is not too much to say that he met and mastered them in such a way as to add lustre to the annals of the commonwealth and to contribute largely to the welfare of the entire country. During his administration the country passed through the war of secession. The part which he and his administration acted therein is so well known that it is needless to refer thereto at length. Under his leadership Pennsylvania took a primal and proud position among the States engaged in asserting the supremacy of the constitution and the enforcement of law and in maintaining the integrity of the Union.

His large heart and generous disposition led him to give special attention to the needs of those who had volunteered for the defence of the country from Pennsylvania, and also to provide for the widows and orphans left helpless by the vicissitudes of war. He was the founder of the Soldiers' Orphans' School System, which until the present time cares for and educates the orphans of those who were killed or disabled during the war or have become destitute since.

Immediately after the close of his administration he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of St. Petersburg, Russia, where he represented the Government of the United States for nearly four years. His genial qualities and diplo-

matic services were so much appreciated by the country to which he was accredited that, upon his return home, he was presented by the Czar with a full length portrait of himself and received a similar distinction from Prince Gortchakoff, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs for Russia.

Upon his return to his own country, he was elected in 1872 as delegate-at-large to the convention which assembled in 1873 to revise the Constitution of Pennsylvania. He took an active and leading part in the deliberations of that convention and contributed much, by his knowledge of State affairs, to the Constitution of the Commonwealth now in force.

He was elected to represent the Twenty-eighth Congressional District of Pennsylvania in the Congress of the United States in 1880, and continued to represent it from the fourth day of March, 1881, until the fourth day of March, 1887, having been twice re-elected in the meantime.

At the end of his Congressional services he voluntarily retired from public life and has lived a life of quiet and congenial retirement since that time among the friends and neighbors, whose friendship and companionship were always dear to him and to whom he was greatly endeared by his genial and kindly nature.

His career at the bar was closed before the majority of the members of this committee were admitted. The distinctive characteristics of the man appeared in his professional life, and the traditions which cluster around it are well known in our day, although he has not practiced his profession for nearly thirty-five years. The generosity of his heart inclined him to the defence, particularly in the criminal courts, and the weapons of his warfare were wit, humor and ridicule, which were so keen in themselves and wielded with such force and dexterity that even the weighty legal positions and arguments of his adversary were minimized and made to disappear before the jury. No one who has had the pleasure of hearing him in a case in which his feelings were enlisted will ever forget the impression which his earnestness, zeal and eloquence made upon mind and heart.

The great sphere of his labor and influence was largely outside his chosen profession, but in his practice as a lawyer as well as in his career as a publicist and statesman, his personality predominated. The charm of his conversation was equal to the power of his eloquence, and made him as pre-eminent in the social circle as in public life. These qualities, together with the generosity of his nature which made him a liberal hand, endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, and, in giving voice to the sentiment of

the Bar of Centre County, we deplore the loss not only of the oldest member and acknowledged head of the bar, but also of a valued friend, an esteemed and generous hearted citizen and a man whose character and career have made our little community known and honored throughout the length and breadth of our land.

Governor Curtin died at his residence in Bellefonte, on Sunday morning, October 7, 1894. In view of his demise, your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. That the foregoing minute be adopted and that the Court of Centre County be requested to have the same spread at length upon its records.
2. That the members of the bar attend the funeral of the deceased in a body, at two o'clock this afternoon.
3. That we tender to the family our sincere sympathy in their great bereavement.
4. That this minute and resolutions be published in the public prints and a copy thereof furnished to Governor Curtin's family.

Before the adoption of the foregoing minute, addresses were delivered by Colonel William B. Mann, of Philadelphia, Governor Robert E. Pattison, Ex-Senator John Scott, A. K. McClure, Ex-Senator William A. Wallace, John M. Bailey, General J. P. S. Gobin and others.

The body of the War Governor was brought into the court house before the close of the bar meeting, where it was viewed by thousands of his neighbors. After the bar meeting adjourned funeral services were had in the Curtin mansion. Rev. Dr. T. H. Robinson, of Allegheny, opened by reading the nineteenth Psalm, followed by prayer, after which he delivered a brief but touching tribute to the life and character of the hero-statesman. The funeral sermon was preached by Rev. William Laurie, D. D., from the text: "Know ye not that a great man has fallen this day?" The funeral procession was one of the most imposing ever witnessed in the State, and on every face was pictured the sorrow of their bereavement. The pall-bearers were Governor Pattison,

Judge Dean, Senator Scott, Senator Wallace, General Brooks, General Taylor, Colonel Mann, Colonel McMichael, Colonel McClure, Governor-elect Hastings, Judge Biddle, Judge Furst, Mr. Hunes and Mr. Collins. The funeral procession was headed by a military escort under Colonel Theodore Burchfield, followed by a special escort of honor from the Grand Army of the Republic under Colonel Mullen. Then followed the clergy in carriages, the pall-bearers, the body with the carriers on each side of the hearse, the family and friends, and representatives of the Pennsylvania Reserves, Order of the Loyal Legion, the Union League of Philadelphia, the Bald Eagle Valley Railroad Company, officers of the National Guard, Centre County Veteran Association, the Bar Association, the State College cadets, the municipal authorities, and all followed by a large concourse of citizens. In addition to the record of the Centre County Bar Association, the Order of the Loyal Legion made an eloquent minute on its records on the death of Governor Curtin, as did the Union League of Philadelphia, and the representatives of the "Sixteeners," the soldiers' orphans of Pennsylvania who had been educated at the orphan schools founded by Curtin. Thus closed the career of one of the most eloquent and patriotic of Pennsylvania's sons, who has written the brightest records on the annals of her history.

[THE END.]

